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OF
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LITERATURE

EDITED BY
PROFESSOR S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D.

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CONTENTS.

		PAGE
BRUCE'S APOLOGETICS; OR, CHRISTIANITY DEFENSIVELY STATED	By Rev. Professor CHARLES CHAPMAN, LL.D., Plymouth, . . .	3
DUHM'S DAS BUCH JESAIA	By Professor A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh, . . .	12
BAETHGEN'S DIE PSALMEN ÜBERSETZT UND ERKLÄRT	By Rev. Canon CHEYNE, D.D., Oxford, . . .	20
PEYTON'S THE MEMORABILIA OF JESUS, COMMONLY CALLED THE GOSPEL OF JOHN	By WALTER C. SMITH, D.D., Edinburgh, . . .	29
BAENTSCH'S DAS BUNDESBUCH, Ex. xx. 22-xxiii. 33.	By Rev. Canon DRIVER, D.D., Oxford, . . .	35
PORCHER DU BOSE'S THE SOTERIOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	By Principal J. OSWALD DYKES, D.D., London, . . .	38
RIDDLES OF THE SPHINX	By Professor A. MACALISTER, M.D., Cambridge, . . .	43
HOLBOROW'S EVOLUTION AND SCRIPTURE	By Professor A. MACALISTER, M.D., Cambridge, . . .	46
HARRISON'S THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO SCEPTICS	By Professor JAMES IVERACH, D.D., Aberdeen, . . .	47
HORTON'S REVELATION AND THE BIBLE	By Professor JAMES IVERACH, D.D., Aberdeen, . . .	48
CLIFFORD'S INSPIRATION AND AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE		
HEGLER'S GEIST UND SCHRIFT BEI SEBASTIAN FRANCK		
REUSS'S DAS ALTE TESTAMENT ÜBERSETZT, EINGELEITET UND ERLÄUTERT	By Rev. Professor W. H. BENNETT, M.A., London, . . .	55
WORMS' LA MORALE DE SPINOZA	By Rev. Professor W. KNIGHT, LL.D., University of St Andrews, . . .	59
BOSANQUET'S A HISTORY OF ÆSTHETICS	By W. MITCHELL, D.Sc., University College, London, . . .	64
RESCH'S AUSSERCANONISCHE PARALLEL-TEXTE ZU DEN EVANGELIEN	By Rev. Professor J. T. MARSHALL, M.A., Manchester, . . .	69
DRIVER'S SERMONS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD TESTAMENT	By Rev. Professor ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY, M.A., University of Aberdeen, . . .	76
RYLE'S THE EARLY NARRATIVES OF GENESIS	By Rev. Professor ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY, M.A., University of Aberdeen, . . .	78
JAMES'S THE TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM	By VERNON BARTLET, M.A., Mansfield College, Oxford, . . .	80

VOL. III.—No. 1.

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B. Moeller 100

JUN 22 1900

	PAGE
M'CRIE'S THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF PRESBYTERIAN SCOTLAND HISTORI- CALLY TREATED	By Professor W. GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., Edinburgh, 85
OLIVER'S WHAT AND HOW TO PREACH	By Professor JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Aberdeen, 90
BROWN, DRIVER, AND BRIGGS' HE- BREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	By Rev. JAMES KENNEDY, B.D., Edin- burgh, 91
BISSELL'S PRACTICAL INTRODUCTORY HEBREW GRAMMAR	By Rev. JAMES KENNEDY, B.D., Edin- burgh, 93
CARRIER'S THE HEBREW VERB	By Rev. JAMES KENNEDY, B.D., Edin- burgh, 94
LEE'S "THE MAKING OF A MAN"	By A. HUTCHISON STIRLING, Edinburgh, 94
NOTICES	By the EDITOR, 96
<p>M'CHEYNE EDGAR'S THE GOSPEL OF A RISEN SAVIOUR; NÖLDEKE'S SKETCHES FROM EASTERN HISTORY; BLACK'S THE BOOK OF JUDGES; CORNILL'S EINLEITUNG IN DAS ALTE TESTAMENT; CAPRON'S THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN; MOELLER'S HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH; WORSLEY'S THE DAWN OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION; BONAR'S MEMOIR AND REMAINS OF THE REV. ROBERT MURRAY M'CHEYNE; LIGHTFOOT'S DISSERTATIONS ON THE APOSTOLIC AGE; WENDT'S THE TEACHING OF JESUS; LIPSIUS'S BRIEFJE AN DIE GALATER, RÖMER, PHILIPPER; ZAHN'S GESCHICHTE DES NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN KANONS; ROBIN- SON AND JAMES'S THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER AND THE REVELATION OF PETER; NEWBOLT'S PENITENCE AND PEACE; BRIGHT'S MORALITY IN DOCTRINE; PRACTICAL REFLECTIONS UPON EVERY VERSE OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS; BEET'S THROUGH CHRIST TO GOD; ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE; AMERI- CAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY; THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW; THE EXPOSITORY TIMES; THE HOMILETIC REVIEW; BIBLIA; REVUE DE THEOLOGIE ET DES QUESTIONS RELIGIEUSES.</p>	
RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE	105

Apologetics ; or, Christianity Defensively Stated.

By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. (being the third volume of the "International Theological Library," edited by Professor Salmond, D.D., and Professor Briggs, D.D.) Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Post 8vo. Pp. xvi. 522. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS volume, the third in the series of the "International Theological Library," like its predecessors, is designed to meet the growing demand of the present day for a more thorough scientific treatment of theological subjects, in relation to modern controversies, and with the fuller light shed on them by the researches and matured judgment of experts in the various branches of Theology. The success that has attended the issue of the first volume, by Dr Driver, and the generous reception so recently given to the second, by Dr Newman Smyth, combined with the well-established reputation of Dr Bruce, have naturally raised expectations concerning the present volume. Dr Bruce is too well-known to our readers to need here and now any introduction. He has already attained distinction as a clear, fearless, and yet cautious thinker. His previously published works have done not a little in directing and giving tone to learned thought and inquiry on some of the most crucial and perplexing questions of our time. He has contributed his fair proportion of solid thinking towards that reconstruction of our theology for which, in its manifold departments, we are all striving and waiting. The promoters of this movement have conferred a boon on the theological world in securing his services for the treatment of a subject which is felt, alike by those who rest in faith and those who are being tossed on the restless sea of doubt, to be of the deepest interest to the individual life, and fraught with momentous issues to Society. The present volume will well sustain the author's reputation. From beginning to end it bears on it the impress of a man who has a firm grip of the matters he handles ; who clearly understands the positions he assails, and who, while in sympathy with such as walk in darkness and considerate of the difficulties of faith, is strong in his adhesion to what evidently has passed through the testing processes of his own intellect and heart. Everywhere there is manifest fairness in stating the case of an opponent or a doubter, combined with a steady eye for the truth which often lies hidden under the difficulties presented, or, as the

case may be, in systems of thought alien to the full Christian faith. Readers unfamiliar with the actual difficulties experienced by minds differently constituted from their own, and inexperienced in solving them, may perhaps think that here and there Dr Bruce concedes more than is necessary, and would have done better had he assumed a more directly resisting attitude. But if some considerable experience in dealing with questions of this kind may be regarded as justification for an opinion, I will venture to affirm that the tone and method adopted in this volume, even in dealing with some of the most important matters of our faith, are just those which are most likely to accomplish the end of all true Apologetic, namely, to win over to Christ the doubter and to confirm the believer. Human opinions, and forms of expression into which the essentials of faith have been crystallised, are not to be confounded with the "faith once for all delivered to the saints." While there is an undisguised willingness to surrender anything, however venerable with age and sanctioned by human authority, which cannot bear the strain of modern research, there is also a tenacious hold and an intelligent presentation of the things "which cannot be shaken," with the underlying conviction that the effect of all our modern trials of faith will only tend to render its foundations more obviously secure; and so, in due course, when the energy now spent in works of defence is no longer required, because of the triumph of truth, will also issue in a more productive, because more intelligent, zeal.

The *Science* of Apologetics is not the subject of this volume. The design of our author is, as stated in the Preface and Introduction, not to write "an abstract treatise on Apologetics in which all the traditional commonplaces of the subject are discussed with reference to present needs and trials of faith," but to give an apologetic presentation of the "Christian faith, with reference to whatever, in our intellectual environment, makes faith difficult at the present time." It is important to note this, because otherwise the reader may be surprised at the omission of some things, the brief notices of others, and the introduction of material not usually found in our formal Scientific Apologetic treatises. The alternative title of the work, "Christianity Defensively Stated," very aptly hits off the characteristic of the book. It is a statement, for the present age, of what may be said in justification of our faith amidst the peculiar assaults to which it is exposed. Instead of discussing, as a matter of form, the abstract objections of any and every age, those forms of doubt and difficulty are selected which most fitly either represent our modern conflicts, or are the expression of them. What the author seeks is a fair hearing for Christianity. On this account we must welcome the work of Dr Bruce as one of the most valuable of our time. To all who thirst to know the best that can be said

on matters most vital to their own lives, this volume will prove exceedingly helpful. It is clear, robust, and vigorous in style; well arranged in chapters, with useful tables of contents and index; and, in the working out of the various lines of thought, pervaded by a strong common sense and large-hearted charity. Those who wish to pursue their studies more in detail on the various points of discussion, will find very serviceable to this end the references to the Literature pertaining thereto placed at the head of each chapter.

The Introduction is devoted to a brief historical sketch, designed not to be in any sense exhaustive even of the points of discussion properly falling under Apologetics, but rather to indicate how, from first to last, the one central subject of debate has been Christ and His Kingdom in this world. Many of His own controversies with Scribes and Pharisees are in fact Christian apologies; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews we have a more systematic defence of the Christian Faith. The controversy between Celsus and Origen is sketched, both to illustrate how in early times the historical question was viewed both by believer and unbeliever, and to bring out the truth that then, as now, the main issue concerns Him whom we recognise as Lord and Saviour. The acute form of conflict between scepticism and faith in the eighteenth century is chosen for review, apparently because its points of resemblance and difference with those of the present century furnish a clue to the better understanding of the present day objections of naturalistic interpreters of Christianity. Deism in England and the *Aufklärung* of Germany are expounded with a fine discrimination of their respective peculiarities. Dr Bruce exposes the low type of eighteenth century apologies—a warning to us all not to lay too much stress on the material and social benefits of Christianity in justification of its supreme claims on this age.

The Method adopted in this work is determined by the purpose of it. It being a defensive statement of the case for Christianity suited to nineteenth century order of thought, the author enters upon the task by taking pains to make clear what it is he seeks to defend. Christianity is a term unfortunately covering, in these days, much that may mislead. There are many forms of it. These, however, are not the types of Christianity on which our author here places any reliance, or brings to the front. On these there may be great differences of opinion among sincere Christians. All this I imagine Dr Bruce was thinking of when he hit on the plan of first laying down, as clearly and concisely as the case admits, those general facts concerning Christ, as a historical personage, in which, among men of all schools of thought, except perhaps here and there one too extreme to deserve consideration, there is concurrence. At all events, these facts are taken as provisionally allowed. But granting that these

facts are as will be stated, it follows that, when looked into, they will be found to *imply* a certain theory of the Universe — a theory, therefore, which will need to be expounded, and that, too, in contrast with other anti-Christian theories of the Universe. But further, the Christian facts are known to be connected with a history of the Jewish people stretching back far into the past, as also with certain other historical persons and events of the first century of our era, and embodied in Hebrew and Christian Records. So that the treatment of the subject can only be complete when the pre-suppositions implied in this connection are discussed in their bearing on the significance of the Christian facts, and the records are properly estimated.

In developing this Method the matter is divided into three Books, of which the *first* treats of the Christian facts that may be assumed to be really, or, at least, provisionally admitted by all parties, and of the Christian and other theories of the Universe around which speculative thought has gravitated, namely, the Pantheistic, Materialistic, Deistic, Modern Speculative Theism and Agnosticism. The *second* Book is devoted to the Historical Preparation for Christianity, embracing the burning questions connected with Hebrew History and Literature in their relation to Christ; while the *last* Book on the Christian Origins covers the main controversies bearing on historical Christianity. It might be thought that the fully-developed defensive statement for Christianity would also include a specific and systematic application or development of the *minimum* of Christian facts, so as to secure the recognition of affirmation concerning the Person and Work of Christ somewhat corresponding to what may be termed Apostolic doctrine. But, although some may think that Dr Bruce might fairly have claimed more for his *minimum* of Christian facts, yet I apprehend that those who know the value of caution and gentle reasonableness in dealing with doubters, and who have confidence in the implications of the impression of Jesus produced by the reading of the Synoptics, will agree with him in his general treatment of the subject. How he utilises the knowledge given by the Fourth Gospel and makes it give more positive and dogmatic form to the implications of the other Gospels is well illustrated in the chapter devoted to it, especially on p. 480. Doubters who follow his leading will not fail to find rest in the essential Christian Faith.

The fundamental Christian facts which form the base of the argument are obtained by taking as true those representations of Jesus of Nazareth in which the Synoptics agree, and which, apart from the minutiae of criticism, impress every one as real—namely His strong love for men, even for the outcast; His active benevolence, covering the welfare of the body and soul; His distinct settin

forth of God as Father, even of the wretched and lost ; His constant recognition of the intrinsic worth of human nature, notwithstanding its low moral and social condition,—revealing an extraordinary optimistic humanitarianism ; His ethical ideal for all men—the being God-like ; His own marvellous personality and unclouded consciousness of it ; His proclamation and beginning of a new order, known as the Kingdom of God,—pointing on to the highest good of the human race ; and His high doctrine of sin and of holiness, revealed in conflict with Rabbism and exemplified in His own person.

The Christian facts being these, they imply a certain theory of the Universe, especially concerning God in His relation to Man, held in common by Jesus and those who intelligently believe on Him. The facts being what they are, we see that God is regarded as an ethical Personality standing in peculiar relation to Man, whose position as a Son is of the highest significance. Moreover, Sin is distinct from physical and social evil ; and is, in a large sense, their cause. It is not an infirmity, or a necessity, or a negative side of good. It is the outcome of a free moral personality ; the guilt it entails is consonant with the dignity of the nature that creates it. God, though not the author of Sin, is the Creator and Sustainer of all else ; and is conceived as working all things through Christ towards the creation of a new Heaven and new Earth, wherein, as the Kingdom of God, righteousness and love will be triumphant.

Such a Christian view of the Universe leads on to a consideration of those in contrast with it. Pantheism, mainly as held and defended by Spinoza, is expounded with as little use of his uncouth technicalities as is perhaps possible, and with a fairness and candour that give all the more weight to considerations subsequently adduced to show the untenableness of the theory. Dr Bruce is right in tracing Spinoza's system genetically to Descartes, whose peculiar dualism, no doubt, suggested monism ; though, I imagine, his definition of Substance, which gave the form to Spinoza's, had more to do with it. After pointing out these reasons why Pantheism has a fascination for some persons, Dr Bruce passes on to a discussion of the difficulties it involves, and finally comes to the conclusion of Lotze that so far from personality not being predicable of God it is only of Him, in the most perfect sense, it can be predicated. But while minds of metaphysical bent tend towards Pantheism, it is those of more matter-of-fact nature that drift off to Materialism. The success achieved in the physical sciences has tended also in this direction. Two forms of Materialism are noticed—the crude and the qualified or “prudent.” Büchner and Vogt are taken as representatives of the former, seeing that they get thought from brain

much as they get bile from liver. The "prudent" form embraces two sections—one represented by Professor Bain, who regards matter and mind as "two faces" of our Reality; and the other by Clifford, who suggests a "mind-stuff" in all matter—advocating, it may be observed, in passing, in his own form, the *beseelt* matter of Stahl and Haeckel, and the perceptive monads of Leibnitz. Our author subjects Materialism to a careful scrutiny, exposing its inherent weakness, especially on its ethical side,—how it fails to find any objective basis of morality; how, by its negation of freedom, and consequent responsibility, it robs life of its real worth, and substitutes for religion a worship of ideals. On the question of Life and Consciousness, within a few pages there is condensed the result of a large amount of close thinking, and very much to the purpose. I am disposed to agree with the statement (p. 107) that in maintaining faith in God as "the fountain of Life" it is not necessary to regard the first emergence of life as due to the immediate and absolute causality of God apart from all natural conditions. Certainly not, because inorganic preparation precedes organic life. But when it is added that this view may eliminate miracle, or the purely supernatural, though not the divine act which underlies the whole, I am not able to follow. For inorganic preparation by natural causes is not identical with the production of the first life by natural causes. If it is not, then we have in the appearance of first life an increment to the Universe by the act of God direct, the conditions being ripe for its exercise. The same would hold true of Consciousness.

The treatment of Deism, as it deserves, is brief, severe, and now and then caustic. Deism has had its day, not again, be it hoped, to rise from the dead. Far more important for the modern apologist is modern speculative Theism, which, though like Deism, rejecting revelation, reducing religion to a few elementary beliefs accessible to all by the light of nature, presenting generally the same light-hearted optimistic view of the world, the same naturalistic conception of God's relation to the world, and equal opposition to all that is miraculous, is, however, more sympathetic in tone, causing, by the presence of a warm emotional temperament, what is really a cold, hard system to appear better than it is seen to be, when laid bare as to its essential contents. Its chief departure from the old Deism lies in the stress it lays on the immanence of God, but with this limitation, that the activity of God is strictly confined to the course of nature. God lives only as He is expressed in a natural order. Now and then, as in the case of Theodore Parker, there is an oscillation between Pantheism and true Theism. The unstable equilibrium of speculative Theism seems to arise from a conflict for the pre-eminence between the intellectual and emotional sides of

our nature. On the religious side it only half yields to the demands of the heart. Hence some of its supporters plead for the right to pray, while others consider all prayer absurd.

Agnosticism, as represented by Mr Spencer, next comes under consideration. Among the causes or occasions of its prevalence Dr Bruce thinks that the conflicting views of the advocates of Theism may be mentioned. The objections brought by theists, now against the Cosmological, now the Teleological, and now the Ontological argument, are apt to suggest to some minds that the theistic foundation is most uncertain, and hence prudence would say that the knowledge sought is unattainable. Over against this Dr Bruce places the fact, that all theists agree as to the thing to be proved; and their harmony in belief ought to weigh more in our judgment than variation in evidence. Our belief in God is possibly "antecedent to evidence," and "in our theistic reasoning we formulate proof of a foregone conclusion innate and inevitable" (p. 157). With all respect to our author, I think he has put the case against the theists rather too strongly. Kant's disparagement of the Cosmological argument was the outgrowth of his system, and is not identical with a common rejection of that argument when properly stated. Anselm's peculiar argument was not devised because he rejected the other lines of proof, any more than was Janet's "Final Causes" so elaborated. Both are consistent with the use of Kant's moral argument based on the Categorical Imperative, as is the Ontological with the argument from Order adjusted to our ideas of Evolution; and are so used, as converging lines of proof, by the best theistic writers. In speaking of unconscious belief "antecedent to evidence" as counting for much, is not Dr Bruce virtually using the argument which in the older theistic treatises figured as the *Consensus Gentium*? Nor can I, without qualification, fall in with the statement, "It would seem as if the way of wisdom were to abstain from all attempts at proving the Divine existence, and, assuming the datum that God is, to restrict our inquiries to what He is." If this means that we take common ground with such an agnostic as Mr Spencer in assuming that there is, at the origin and base of all things, One Eternal Reality, and that we seek by argument to prove that this Reality possesses the qualities which really enter into our idea of God, then all is well—that is what many of us do. Only we must not call it "assuming the datum that God is."

In Book II. we pass on to the "Historical Preparation for Christianity." Here it is pointed out that the Traditional view of the historical character of the Pentateuch, as giving a true account of God's progressive Revelation of Himself, is assailed by Criticism, and having outlined the main critical positions, our author says: "From the foregoing brief outline it will be seen that the effect of modern

criticism on the mode of viewing the religious history of Israel is serious. It amounts to an inversion of the order subsisting between law and prophecy. . . . A very important question now arises for the apologist: What is to be his attitude towards this critical view?" The reply to this question is important, as it enables us to understand better the following treatment of the subject. It is "that the apologist is not called upon to accept the results of modern criticism, or to constitute himself an advocate of its claims to scientific certainty. He is entitled to hold himself aloof from critical dogmatism, and to keep his personal opinions in a state of suspense." For many reasons he may so excuse himself. "It will be time enough for the apologist to dogmatise when criticism has arrived at the stage of finality. It is far enough from having reached that stage yet." The business, then, of the apologist is to adjust himself to the new situation, and see how, if at all, the truth of Christianity is affected by it.

In pursuance of his plan, Dr Bruce takes a survey of the forms of teaching and influence that determined the religious development of Israel—beginning with the prophets as assured ground and as throwing light on Mosaism, and then working downwards again through Judaism and Legalism towards the Christian era. The briefest designation of the prophetic theological position is that of ethical monotheism which though conceived as universal did not overlook the individual. Its source was not, as Renan supposes, in a monotheistic tendency shared by the Hebrews in common with all Semitic races; nor was its universality the consequence of the widening of Israel's political horizon on the rise of the great Assyrian power. The prophets had no doubt of its source. They felt it to be "a revelation direct from heaven." The prophets also held tenaciously to the Divine Election of Israel as a means to the accomplishment for a far-reaching purpose; nor were the people of the Exodus altogether in the dark as to this purpose. This opens up an apologetical problem with respect to other nations outside the election; and its solution is to be sought in the fact that in the election itself there was a general regard for the human race, and that other nations, as attested by Scripture, and more explicitly pointed out by Justin Martyr, shared in a light which, in its measure, prepared the way for the final result. The chapter on Mosaism brings out more distinctly Dr Bruce's relation to some extreme forms of criticism. Readers of Wellhausen's *History of Israel and Judah* will remember how he minimises the significance of the Exodus from Egypt. Dr Bruce regards it as one of the three great crises in the national life which gave occasion for a special Revelation from God to the chosen people. The Decalogue is not to be referred to the age of Manasseh (Wellhausen), but is the

distinctive work of Moses, which marks him out as a great man imbued with the prophetic spirit, insisting most of all on moral fidelity. The Monotheism of Moses is manifest, not as a theoretically new idea, but exhibited with the emphasis arising out of new circumstances. That "later personalities" should be characterised by a low morality is no reason why the lofty morality of the Decalogue or its implied Monotheism were not Mosaic. The morality and teaching of Christ rise high above the morality and ideas of Christendom. As to the Priestly Code, Dr Bruce seems to agree with Riehm that very ancient customs were in existence during the Mosaic age, which later on were fixed in writing, with the additions required by circumstances, and were called after Moses because their spirit and main features were Mosaic. Here we are on very debateable ground. Moses was both legislator and prophet, and was necessarily compelled by circumstances to organise the people just free from serfdom and the deteriorating religious influences of Egypt. Dr Bruce points out that the probable reason why the doctrine of a future state was not included in his teaching, was not that he and the people were ignorant of the existence of such a state, but that their minds might be entirely diverted from the gross ideas of it which were familiar to Egyptians, as seen in their "ritual of the dead." The same careful legislative temper might surely have led to the introduction of, at least, some fundamental regulations for the discharge of religious duties. The instinct which, later on, after the exile, Dr Bruce thinks, led men to prescribe rules for the preservation of what is good in worship, could not have been wanting in one so wise, and who could not but see that moral obedience is not unconnected with the proper maintenance of fellowship with God in acts of worship. Returning from Mosaism to Prophetism it is further pointed out that the prophetic optimism took the form of a coming Royal Man, and a Kingdom of the good to be brought about by the Royal Man becoming the Suffering Servant. Two chapters are devoted to Judaism as introduced by Ezra, and to the Legalism that grew out of it. The characteristic of Judaism is that it puts morality and ritual on the same level. Here, then, was apparently a descent, and hence there arises an apologetical difficulty, the solution of which is sought in Judaism being conceived as a "husk to protect the kernel of ethical monotheism." It is affirmed that there was much in the Code (post-exilic) that tended to subserve this purpose. It is also said that the Apologetic problem is easier than if the whole Code were held to be as old as Moses. But is that the only alternative? On the Literature of the Old Testament we have some excellent observations. On the question of the casting of ideas into the form of history, Dr Bruce says, "If the critics are right, Hebrew editors could do without hesitation what

we should think hardly compatible with literary honesty. . . . This may be crude morality, but it is not immorality" (p. 309). This is a large question, and those who affirm the *non-historical* character of much of the New Testament narratives may, I think, have to be checked from taking too much encouragement from this admission.

Space forbids entering on the fruitful subject of "Christian Origins," set forth in the *third* Book; where Jesus, as the Christ, Founder of the Kingdom, Risen and Lord, and Paul and Primitive Christianity, together with the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, are the subjects of much profound thought, clear exposition, and forceful reasoning. The treatment of the Resurrection and of the Tübingen conceptions of Paul and Primitive Christianity are especially helpful. The origin and historic value of the Synoptics are dealt with in such a way as to justify all that was affirmed of Jesus in the early chapter on "The Christian Facts." The study given of the place, and apologetic value of the Fourth Gospel, is one of the most useful products of Dr Bruce's efforts. The statements on p. 480 will, I think, commend themselves to all candid inquirers on this interesting and important subject. The Christian Church is greatly indebted to Dr Bruce for this volume. It deserves a wide circulation. It will do much towards forming and sustaining a sound, healthy habit of mind in relation to crucial questions, and will tend to render the Church more calm and persistent in her work for the good of mankind and the glory of Christ.

CHARLES CHAPMAN.

Handkommentar zum Alten Testament.

Das Buch Jesaia von Bernh. Duhm, Professor in Basel. Goettingen, Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. 1892. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxii. 458. Price 8s. 6d., bound 10s.

THIS is the first volume of another new undertaking under the editorship of Prof. Nowack of Strassburg. The Editor himself promises the Minor Prophets, and eminent hands have been engaged to co-operate with him on the other Books. Kittel undertakes the Kings, Giesebrecht Jeremiah, and Baethgen the Psalms. The last-named author's instalment has already appeared. Every one will rejoice that Budde, who has already made noteworthy contributions to the exposition of Job, has made himself responsible for that Book; something in advance of all previous studies, particularly in the region of the criticism of Job, may confidently be expected. "Dr Phil. Theodor Arndt, prediger an St Petri zu Berlin," has been

entrusted with Ezekiel. Arndt has already written a tract, called "The Place of Ezekiel in Old Testament Prophecy," which is perhaps the most prejudiced and ill-informed thing ever written even on Ezekiel. At the time of writing it, however, he appears to have read only Smend's Commentary; when he comes to read the prophet's own writings he will do better. And, no doubt, the Editor will take care that notes of startling originality, like one in the tract, "The Ethical dative, an Aramaism," shall occur only in moderate quantity, in conformity with the idea of a Handcommentar.

There are many things in Duhm's work which few will agree with, a number of things which perhaps nobody will agree with, methods that will be considered wrong, and principles that will be held false, and as the result of them conclusions that will be absolutely rejected, but everyone will acknowledge the great ability of the Book, even the brilliancy of some parts of it. A more powerful exposition of Is. vi. has not yet been given. And everywhere the notes are full of body, and stimulating even when they will be thought misleading. The reader finds with thankfulness that there is no over-indulgence in textual criticism, and if the conjectures offered do not always commend themselves, they are seldom foolish. An undoubted blot on the book is the tone of arrogance pervading it both towards other writers and towards the text itself. Duhm does not see why he should not speak his mind freely, whether it be about a writer who wrote in Jerusalem, or about one who writes in Berlin; and as he baits Dillmann with incessant sarcasm, often clumsy enough, he tells his prophetic author that his imagination is "sterile," and that his Hebrew would disgrace a school boy. There are many minds whom such things will hurt, and some respect was due to them, though in justice to Duhm himself, the enthusiasm which he feels and expresses for the older parts of Isaiah should be thrown into the opposite scale. But apart from this, such overgrown self-consciousness and sense of superiority to everyone else, ancient or modern, betrays the author into a carping, supercilious criticism, always unpleasant, and sometimes decidedly in the wrong place. Thus on Ch. i. 4, "they have forsaken the Lord" (יָאָסוּ), he remarks: "Surprising are the two nota acc. in 4 b, especially the first; in such trifling matters the older transcribers may have been careless enough." This insinuation as to the faultiness of the text is characteristic. Duhm would expunge *eth*, with a patronising reference to the carelessness of transcribers. But is it not the case that older writers, like Isaiah and Hosea, always use *eth* before the name Jehovah when the object of a verb, and that it is only in later pieces that the particle occasionally fails (xii. 5)? There is another class of criticisms, possibly springing from the same source, at any rate numerous and disagreeable, of which that on Ch. xvii. 7, 8 is an

example. These two verses are thrown out as spurious on this ground—"If Israel is so completely annihilated as ver. 5 seq. describes, and if its cities be desolated, according to ver. 9, it is superfluous to say that men, who are eradicated, will no more look to the work of their own hands, which are destroyed." Things like these, and there are too many of them (*e.g.*, notes on xi. 9, 10), almost provoke one to say that Professor Duhm would show to more advantage in a commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, than in one on a poet like Isaiah.

In his preface Duhm lays down three rules for his own guidance and that of all other commentators. The rules are unimpeachable; the only peculiar thing is that the author appears to think them new. The first is that the commentator must assume that his author wrote his own language correctly. This is directed against those who defend the text at all hazards, and attempt to translate what is untranslatable. Nothing could be more perverse, and the thing has been too much practised under a mistaken reverence for the Massoretic text. The second is, that the metre must be carefully attended to, and may be used as a critical instrument for removing excrescences from the reading. And the third is, that the commentator must practise criticism; that is, for example, he must take note of the religious sentiments and modes of thought occurring in a passage, as well as the phraseology in which they are expressed, and assign the passage to the age or period when such thoughts and language are from other sources known to have prevailed—and many other such like things. The principles are good, it is the application of them that raises questions. What a prospect of contentious matter, extending over the whole field of Old Testament theology and history, is opened up, for instance, by the third principle! It is on this field that the most important of Duhm's critical results in Isaiah are gained, and here that the main interest of his commentary lies. Probably it is here, too, that a final judgment will be passed on it when the time is ripe. The second principle also is capable of great abuse, and does appear abused by Duhm. Even in formally poetical compositions writers allow themselves very considerable variety in the length of the line, as can be seen in the most artistic of all poetry, the Lamentations; and such unevenness is much more to be expected in Prophecy, which is only half poetical in form. And under the reaction against former methods even the first principle is in danger of being carried to an extreme. The literature preserved in the Bible is but a scanty thesaurus of the Hebrew language. From the nature of the case, both forms and constructions will occur in single examples, which a more ample literature might have shown to be not uncommon. The cry of "*unhebräisch*" is becoming too customary. The critical gamekeepers who raise it are comparable

only to gamekeepers of another sort, who shoot down every creature of God which does not show the familiar grey of the grouse.

After all the proof of principles and the application of them is the results which are produced. Looking down Duhm's translation with its variety of type, indicative of the same or a greater variety of authors, we discover that there is hardly a chapter in Isaiah, and in some passages hardly a line which has not been patched and clouted by successive cobblers. One cannot but ask, Is there any literary analogy to this? Has any other literature been subjected to similar treatment? We know, for example, how it fared with New Testament MSS., the kind and the source of changes introduced into them, and no one would deny that similar comparison of Book with Book, and consequent amplifications of the text, perhaps even on a greater scale, might have taken place in Old Testament MSS. But this has no resemblance to the pervasive over-working of the ancient texts assumed by Duhm. The question is one which, of course, *à priori* probabilities or improbabilities will not settle. The grounds on which passages are denied to be Isaiah's, and ascribed to another hand or relegated to a later age, will have to be examined in each particular case. While in some cases these grounds are to be found in the methods and idiosyncrasies of this particular commentator, in most cases they will be found in the critical and historical axioms with which the author has approached his task.

The starting point of his critical operations, and the test or criterion employed in them, is a certain view of the religious history of Israel, and of the nature of the progress of religious ideas among the people. It is really here, as has been said, that the interest of the Commentary lies. For though the work be able, it is as a criticism of Isaiah rather than as an exposition, that it has meaning, and can be regarded as a contribution. It is the first continuous application to an ancient writing of modern principles, and the results are startling. It is allowable, indeed, to say, and this is what many will say, and what we should like to be able to say, that the extraordinary results are due not to the principles, but to an exaggerated or extravagant way of conceiving and applying the principles. An example or two in illustration is all that can be given. Isaiah iii. 10, 11, "Say ye of the righteous that it shall be well with him. . . woe to the wicked it shall be ill with him," &c., is thrown out of the text and relegated to a later age for this reason: "For Isaiah and the older time the righteous shall eat of the good of the land (i. 19), if they are more or less identical with the whole people; the doctrine of individual retribution, which is obviously the meaning of the present passage, could naturally only become prevalent when the state had lost its meaning for religion, and the individual," &c.—*i.e.*, the passage is post-exile. Assuming the cor-

rectness of the author's exegesis, does he not push the idea, true within limits, that the individual had significance only as part of the state, to an extravagant length? The woman of Zarepta said to Elijah, Art thou come to call my sin to remembrance, and slay my son? This heathen woman was familiar with the idea of individual retribution. And one would like to know what David thought of the relation of the death of his child to his sin. The passage, Am. ix. 9, 10, might be referred to, but, no doubt, Duhm would draw his pen through it. It is true the prophets deal with the state and threaten it with destruction from the Assyrian. But the Assyrian was not the only instrument in God's hand. And if the idea of the Kingdom of God and its destinies absorbed the prophets, this does not forbid that other ideas on different lines may have been contemporaneous. If Professor Duhm be right, Israel must have stood on a lower level than any nation under heaven, and Elijah's landlady had a much deeper religious insight than himself.

Another example, a type of many, is the author's treatment of Is. iv. This chapter is thrown out bodily, with numerous sneers at Stade, who sought only to reconstruct it, and relegated to the second century B.C., or at least to a post-Deuteronomic age. The chief reason for this is the occurrence of the word "holy," v. 3 (of course vi. 13, "the holy seed" has also been thrown overboard). To a reader without the author's preconceptions, the sense which he puts on "holy" will perhaps seem forced. In vi. 5, the prophet uses another word which also is technical in later books, viz., "unclean," the opposite of holy, and it is probable that he uses both more with a moral *nuance*, which may, however, suggest the close connection of the moral and ceremonial. But even if it were otherwise, would the use of "holy" be sure evidence for the spuriousness of the passage? The author conjures as usual with Deuteronomy. We know that given Deuteronomy and Ezekiel all mysteries are explained. But for ourselves the real mystery is Deuteronomy and Ezekiel themselves. Did they rise up suddenly "without hand," like a volcanic island in the midst of the sea? Religious thought is a stream which is continuous, and cannot be cut into zones by drawing straight lines after the manner of Ezekiel's holy land in the latter day. Was the chasm between Israel's early period and her late period of thought absolutely unbridged?

The author's general construction of the Book of Isaiah may be referred to, details being omitted. It must be said that his manner of dealing with historical evidence is arbitrary enough. The chronicler's reference to Jeremiah (Ezr. i. 1-3) is read as proof that the chronicler regarded Is. xlv. 28 as a prophecy of Jeremiah's. If this were so, it would be curious as well as unique in tradition. But Jeremiah is referred to merely as the author of the prophecy of

70 years, now about to come to an end, just as in Dan. ix. 2. It is by no means certain that there is in Ezr. i. 1-3 (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22) any reference to Isaiah whatever. Again, the chronicler (2 Chr. xxxii. 32) refers to the Vision of Isaiah, and cites the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel for it. This has reference to Is. xxxvi.-xxxix., which, Duhm argues, could not, in the chronicler's day, have formed part of the Book of Isaiah, or the chronicler would have cited it from there, as he evidently felt his obligations to the Book of the Kings to be burdensome. Those who think this reasoning cogent may do so. Further, Sirach (xlviii. 23 *seq.*) knows both ch. xxxvi. *seq.* and ch. xl. *seq.* as part of Isaiah. It is preposterous to argue, as Duhm does, that he knew *only* these pieces as parts of the Book of Isaiah. Obviously in Sirach's day (200 B.C.) the *frame* of the Book of Isaiah was the same as in ours, the early part was in some measure the same, the final part the same, and the historical section stood where it does, between them. The question is, does this imply that the early part was, in all its elements, the same? Or is it possible that insertions into the first part of individual pieces may have taken place later? Whether such insertion took place or not actually, the possibility of it can hardly be denied. Before Sirach's day there was certainly a collection of Psalms, but according to most scholars at least, it received additions, and even insertions, at a date posterior to his time. The general view is that the prophetic Canon was completed by 200 B.C., but so much uncertainty surrounds all questions of the Canon, that this view cannot be pleaded as an axiomatic bar to Duhm's theory of Maccabean prophecies in the Book of Isaiah. The patches with which the older pieces are covered being taken into account, not less than twelve or fourteen chapters of the first half of Isaiah are thrown into the Maccabean time, the principal being ch. iv., xi. 9 *seq.*, xii., xv.-xvi., part of xix., xxiv.-xxvii., xxxiii., xxxiv.-xxxv., some being as late as the early part of the first century B.C. Some other chapters belong to the time of Ochozias, and some to the early Greek period. The evidence for this is that already referred to; the sentiments are not those of the age of Isaiah; the eschatology is not his, but that of later Judaism; the "inevitable" *on that day* characterises everything. Of course the consequence of this view is that it was not till the Maccabean age that *any* of Isaiah's prophecies were collected together, because it is not a question merely of the addition or insertion of new pieces, but of the patching of the most ancient, and this patching must have been done by the editors who gathered the pieces together. What a glorious view the Maccabean age presents to our admiring eyes. How rich the period was in literature. The great writers on the Psalter have shown us how every skirmish of the day had its poet, and how every rise and fall in the spirits of

the little army have been photographed in the Psalms which we sing. And now Professor Duhm draws the curtain aside and exhibits a company of Prophets no less numerous than the Poets we knew before. Now, we realise how that extraordinary prophecy, Is. xix. 24, came to be uttered: "In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth; for that the Lord of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria (*i.e.*, Syria), the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance." The occasion of it was that Jonathan the Maccabee was invited to the wedding of Alexander Balas, the Syrian usurper, with Cleopatra, daughter of the king of Egypt. Such a meeting of such a three could mean nothing less than that the kingdoms of the earth would speedily be the kingdoms of the Lord. One thing is difficult to understand amidst this wealth of prophecy, namely, how the people should be so often represented in the Book of Maccabees as complaining and lamenting that they had no Prophet. Had they, perhaps, the same opinion of their prophets as Professor Duhm has,—that they were sterile in imagination and solecists in style?

Professor Duhm's critical analysis of Is. xl.-lxvi. is very interesting. Briefly it is this: (1.) The author of ch. xl.-lv. is the Deutero-Isaiah, the great Anonymous of the Exile, though, of course, the chapters have not escaped considerable retouching, the amount of which may be about a fourth. (2.) But apart from this there is in these chapters an element that must be subtracted from them, *viz.*, the passages on the Servant of the Lord, ch. xlii. 1-4; xlix. 1-6; li. 4-9; and lii. 13—liii. 12. These are the work of a writer living not long after the Return, and the subject of them, the Servant, is a man of that time, a teacher and a martyr. (3.) The chapters lvi.-lxvi. have a single author, whom Duhm names Trito-Isaiah, a writer of the age of Ezra. The first division needs no comment. On the second, the Servant passages, it is satisfactory that Duhm regards them all to have the same subject, for the idea that the subject of ch. lii. 13 *seq.* differs from that in the two earlier passages must be regarded as particularly unhappy. Ewald held that the chief Servant passages existed once separately, but he considered that the author was earlier than Deutero-Isaiah, who worked the passages into his own prophecy. This, whether true or not, was a feasible hypothesis. But Duhm's idea that the author was later than Deutero-Isaiah, and that the passages must have been worked into his finished composition, is very improbable. No doubt a certain point of contact lay in the fact that Deutero-Isaiah also uses the term Servant, though of the empirical people; but that fact, instead of favouring Duhm's hypothesis, suggests an entirely different one, *viz.*, that there is only one author who speaks of the Servant, even Deutero-Isaiah himself.

Duhm's view that the Servant is an individual who lived after the Return is Ewald's view, with a change of date. But nothing will make such a theory probable. The glorification of an individual, even if he were in some degree an uncommon person, is so hyperbolic, and such effects are ascribed to his life and death, as to be altogether incredible. And we have a right to demand of history some account of this person. Its silence justifies our disbelief in him. Duhm's treatment of this point shows wherein his greatest weakness lies. We have plenty of logic from him, plenty of the abstract, plenty even of the vulgar concrete, which cannot imagine that a prophet should express a general conception, and which demands a definite particular occurrence, such as the marriage of Alexander Balas, or something in the reign of John Hyrcanus, as the basis of every prophecy, but a literary ideal he cannot understand.

The notes on chaps. lvi.-lxvi. have put more clearly than it has ever been put before, an important question raised by these chapters, viz., who the persons are whom the prophet assails with such violence in chapters lix., lxv., and lxvi., and, according to Duhm, in lvii.? Of course the answer will depend partly on the view taken of the date and authorship of the chapters. There are persons ready to stake their reputations, or, we suppose, their heads, that the chapters emanate from a number of authors, from the Return down to the end of the Persian period, they are so incompatible in sentiment and situation with one another. Duhm assigns them all to one author and one situation. We are thankful to him that he does not create historical situations out of nothing in order to explain the prophecy, and accepts the plain meaning. "Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers served thee, is burnt with fire" (lxiv.), he refers, as a fair-minded person must, to the first temple and the burning of it (we doubt if "our fathers" ever means anything but the pre-exile people). A hypothetical burning shortly before Nehemiah, which history contradicts, or one under Ochus, on which history is silent, is not here. Professor Duhm assumes the situation of these chapters to be that of the people in the century after the Return, the time prior to Ezra's reformation. The persons whom the prophet assails are the bastard-brood born of the Assyrian colonists and the native Jewish inhabitants of the northern kingdom, afterwards known as the Samaritans. The practices laid to their charge (Isaiah lxv. 3 *seq.*; lxvi. 17), otherwise unknown in the Old Testament, are explainable as importations from the East. The theory raises questions regarding the relations of the returned exiles to the mixed populations already in the country, which make this division of the author's work really the most important part of it. There are many obstacles in the way of his theory. The closeness of relation between the exiles

and the natives of the land which he assumes, being for a time a virtual amalgamation, is difficult to reconcile with Ezra iv., and goes far beyond the occasional mixed marriages known to have taken place. The way in which God speaks of the idolaters, "I have spread out my hands to a rebellious people," and the words spoken of them, "Destroy it not for a blessing is in it" (lxv. 2, 8), are little natural, if the mixed population of the land be the subject. Further, chapter lvii. cannot be brought into the author's scheme without the usual violent excisions of parts of the text. And when he regards the words, "What manner of house will ye build unto me, and what place shall be my rest" (lxvi. 1), as referring to a project of the Samaritans to build a temple, the only difficulty being about the site of it, the reader is pleased to find that he can be humorous as well as sarcastic. Nevertheless, this part of the work is worthy of the closest attention and examination.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

Baethgen's Commentary on the Psalms.

Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt von Dr Frdr. Baethgen, o. Prof. d. Theol. in Greifswald. Handcommentar zum A. T., hrsgb. von W. Nowack. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xlv, 451. Price M. 8.20.

IN approaching a work like the present, it is desirable to ascertain in what lines the author has already attained distinction. For though the preliminary researches of a critic afford no sure measure of his ultimate success, they do give an insight into his self-training and his modes of thought and study, which will prevent one from expecting the wrong things, and from applying an unfair standard to his work. Time passes quickly, but it seems not so many years since his dissertation on the Syriac Sindban announced to us that we had another able Syriac scholar eager for work. And again and again since then Syriac literature has furnished the staple of his communications, even when, as one is glad to add, a Biblical interest has also very clearly shown itself. To the works mentioned below¹ I would add Prof. Baethgen's articles on the ancient versions of the Psalter (*Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie*, 1882, p. 405 &c., and p. 593 &c.; comp. article in *Th. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1888, p. 750 &c.), and also his articles on the exposition of the Psalter by

¹ *Untersuchungen üb. die Psalmen nach der Peschita*; Abth. I.; Kiel, 1878. *Sindban, oder die sieben weisen Meister, syrisch und deutsch*; Leipzig, 1879. *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker*; herausg. u. übers. von F. B.; Leipzig, 1884. *Evangelienfragmente. Der griech. Text des Cureton'schen Syrens wiederhergestellt*; Leipzig, 1885.

Theodore of Mopsuestia, a continuous body of extracts from which exists in Syriac; while fragments of the original Greek are to be found in Corderius and Migne (*Zt. f. die alttest. Wiss.*, 1885, p. 53 &c.; 1886, p. 261 &c.). To the former articles I have been indebted in *Book of Psalms* (1888), where I have ventured to propose Baethgen to our younger scholars as a model of a methodical text-critic; to the latter in *Origin of the Psalter* (1891), where I have throughout treated Baethgen's favourite author, Theodore of Mopsuestia, as the earliest of our historical critics, on the basis of Baethgen's critical researches. Lastly, I must mention Baethgen's latest work but one—his *Beiträge zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*—in which the old Semitic names of divinities are collected and discussed, with special reference to the data of the inscriptions.

We may therefore expect that the present book will at any rate be strong in text-criticism and in archæological illustrations, and also, perhaps, that the development of the Israelitish idea of God will have some interest for the author. Whether he has a head for grammatical difficulties, or for the connection of thought, or for taking a combined view of the exegetical data of a psalm, or for the complicated problems of "higher criticism," we cannot tell, without close study of this book. It ought, however, to be mentioned that the *Beiträge* reveals a very strong dislike to what Baethgen supposes to be the tendency of the school of Kuenen and Wellhausen, and consequently to the views which adherents of this school propound. I think that such a thorough student as the author ought to have been able to conquer this dislike, which, as we British scholars know, arises from an unnecessary identification of Kuenen's theology with his criticism. Orthodox in the old sense, of course, we none of us are, but we are for a continuous theological development, and not for revolution, and herein, as it would seem, we differ to some extent from Kuenen. All that excited declamation which mars some pages of the *Beiträge* proves that, in 1888, Baethgen the theologian was far behind Baethgen the linguist and the text-critic, and that he was not then well suited to discuss the problems of Old Testament criticism. Of such excitement there is but little trace in the present volume, though I shall presently have to remark that the fire of theological passion is not yet wholly extinct.

The book opens with an introduction, which, for the most part, has to deal with matters of fact and the author's critical theories. I cannot for a moment compare it with Professor Robertson Smith's article, "Psalms," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, but it will nevertheless be helpful to students. Eleven pages of it are devoted to the question of the age of the Psalms, in which the author gives not only his results, but some insight into his critical processes. He is on the side of progress, and is willing to refer "by far the

larger half of the psalms to the post-Exilic age." Only one psalm, according to him, is certainly Davidic, and that is the 18th. But, alas! it is only the kernel which is Davidic, and who shall tell us what this kernel is? I understand Baethgen to say that David's original "song of victory" has been very much "worked over," and that, in its remodelled form, it expressed the sentiments of the Church-nation. How this is to be reconciled with the statement in the *Beiträge*¹ (p. 227) I do not know, but I welcome this important concession to advanced criticism, and though the author assures us that "the theory that a later poet put the psalm into David's mouth seems very improbable," I am not much disturbed by this harmless blast. That theory cannot be pooh-poohed, for it is in harmony with well-known facts (see *e.g.*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1-6 and the Book of Chronicles). And when Baethgen asserts (Introduct., p. xxiv) that "the proud words of Ps. xviii. 44, 45, cannot be explained from the time of Josiah (Cheyne), and, of course, much less from the post-Exilic period," he forgets that no one supposes that the political circumstances either of Josiah or of the post-Exilic people explain the expressions in these verses; that if Josiah had clothed his dreams in words they would, of course, have been warlike ones; and that in the post-Exilic period, even before the Maccabees arose, there were times when the old fierce longings flamed up again (*cf.* Baethgen himself on Ps. cx.). The author's treatment of the phraseological argument for the age of Ps. xviii. leaves much to be desired, nor can it be taken for granted at this stage of criticism that Hab. iii. is pre-Exilic.

Turning back, we find that Ps. i. is by a contemporary of Jeremiah, and Ps. ii. Maccabæan (the former theory is a piece of half-and-half criticism). Psalms iii. and iv. may, perhaps, be Davidic, but may equally well proceed from a later king. Baethgen, at any rate, "knows" that Hezekiah was a poet. One may grant to him the possible existence of Davidic elements in pre-Exilic or even post-Exilic psalms; but what means have we of recognising them? Baethgen thinks that we can point with certainty to thirty or forty psalms of pre-Exilic origin: *e.g.*, i., iii.-vii., viii. (?), ix.-xii., xiv., xv., xviii., xix. (first part), xx., xxi., xxiv. (second part), xxvi., xxviii.-xxx., xxxiii., xlii., xliii., xlvi., xlviii., l., lxi., lxiii., lxxvi. (?). Of uncertain period are xiii., xvii., xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvi., lii., liv., lv., lx. All the other psalms, Baethgen thinks, belong to the Exilic (*e.g.*, li, lxxx.) or post-Exilic period, and in

¹ "Upon both external and internal grounds Ps. xviii. cannot well be denied to David." In support of this view, the author of the *Beiträge*, refers to Riehm in his edition of Hupfeld. It is to be regretted that Nowack should have removed the square brackets in which Riehm expressed his opinions, and thus made himself responsible for Riehm's faulty criticism.

the two last books (xc-cl.), not one can be assigned to an earlier period. To the Maccabæan age we may refer with certainty Psalms xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., with probability, ii., ex., lxix., cxlix., and, with possibility, lxxv., cii., cviii., cxliv.

It will be seen that Baethgen confirms the view that there are but two views of the origin of the Psalter which are still critically tenable. Baethgen holds one (in a form which admits of much improvement); his references to myself force me to say that I still venture to hold the other. Baethgen virtually holds that there are no Davidic psalms; I, that there are no pre-Exilic ones. It appears to me that there is no such great gulf between these views as to justify the heat which he displays in his references to my book, to which, if it reached him so lately as he states that it did, he cannot have been able to give a thorough study. His attempt to glorify Prof. Robertson Smith at my expense seems to show, further, that he has not adequately studied my friend's article "Psalms," to which he refers. For in truth there is no writer on the criticism of the Psalms to whom I am nearer than to Prof. Robertson Smith, whose article I have conscientiously praised as "the best general introduction to the subject." I think, indeed, that his results, in so far as they are conservative, need reconsidering; the date of his article is 1886. But he has a grasp of Old Testament criticism, and in particular of Psalter-criticism, to which the author of the *Beiträge* naturally enough cannot yet lay claim, and it is easy to discuss difficulties with him with profit. How far Baethgen is as yet from being able to debate with other critics, is shown by his treatment of the Cambridge professor's theory with regard to Psalms xliv., lxxiv., and lxxix.,¹ and also, I am bound to add, by his treatment of myself. Bent on showing that Psalms xx. and xxi. cannot be post-Exilic psalms, and that my own explanation of an admitted difficulty is impossible, he takes two lines at the end of a long paragraph in my fifth Lecture, and a subsidiary argument in my linguistic appendix, and gives the combined result in a distorted form as my hypothesis. Far be it from me to weary the reader with a repetition of the data for a conclusion offered in my book. But when Baethgen says that I give a new signification to מֶלֶךְ, I reply, with regret, that this is not correct. The good old Hebrew sense of מֶלֶךְ is not "König oder Kaiser," but supreme judge, counsellor, and general. Hence שֹׁפֵט is synonymous with מֶלֶךְ in Am. ii. 3, Hos. vii. 7, Isa. xxxiii. 22, Ps. ii. 10 (post-Exilic, Baethgen); יוֹעֵז, Mic. iv. 9, Job iii. 14 (late); מְחַלֵּץ κοσμήτωρ, Isa.

¹ Cf. my notice of *OTJC*, ed. 2, in the *New World*, Sept. 1892; and cf. *Expositor*, Aug. 1892.

xxxiii. 22. To say that the use of מֶלֶךְ in sense of "ruler" might be facilitated in post-Exilic times by acquaintance with Aramaic may or may not be far-fetched, but unphilological it is not. I lay no stress upon this; Baethgen does, because it suits him, and ignores the point on which I do lay stress, viz., the good old Hebrew sense of מֶלֶךְ, found alike in early and in late writings. I maintain also, in independent agreement with Wellhausen (with whose *Prolegomena* Baethgen may not be familiar), that the post-Exilic high priest was possessed of much regal state and power, as the Biblical and other evidence proves.¹ I do not, however, dogmatically assert that it is a post-Exilic high-priest who is referred to, but would point out that no other theory as yet proposed is, from a plain reader's point of view, less difficult. Baethgen's theory, on various grounds, appears to me improbable.² Prof. Robertson Smith boldly suggests that Ps. lxxii. may be strictly Messianic. If that view be correct, of course Psalms xx. and xxi., lxi. and lxiii., may be so too, impossible as this seems at first sight. But they need not on that account be pre-Exilic. One more point and I have done with Baethgen's criticisms of my book. It is happily a point on which I have no great fault to find with this scholar. I think that though (Introd., p. xxvi) he quotes my own words, he does not perfectly understand them. For a fuller expression of my view upon *Elyōn* (which is, I believe, unassailable) I have referred in the book from which he quotes to my note in the *Book of Psalms* on Ps. vii. 18. There I have said that Geiger is wrong in taking this word as a sure sign of post-Exilic date, but that a subsidiary argument can be based upon it, because post-Exilic writers were specially fond of using it. I quite admit that if on other grounds Ps. xlvi. (for example) is probably pre-Exilic, the mere occurrence of *Elyōn* is no sufficient reason for giving it a later date. We should, in that case, group Ps. xlvi. with Num. xxiv. 15-19 (see v. 16) and Deut. xxxii. (see v. 8), both of which are generally regarded as pre-Exilic. Do "other grounds" exist? No one can answer this question with confidence who has not made a deep study both of the literature and the religion of the later age. The author will, I hope, pardon the doubt which is here implied. He has evidently made progress since the *Beiträge*, but has he as yet quite thrown off his theological prejudice against the theory of historical development which has been set forth, no doubt with many errors, but with consummate ability, by Kuenen? If he had done so, he would, I think,

¹ It may be noted that Prof. Robertson Smith explains the term "his anointed" in Ps. lxxxiv. 10 of the high priest.

² I am surprised at Baethgen's weak argument from xx. 8. How could such a pious king as is here described have had chariots and horses?

scarcely have said that as many as thirty or forty psalms are (in any real sense of the word) monuments of the pre-Exilic age.

I pass with a sense of relief to the text-criticism and exegesis of the book. To the Psalter we may apply the words which Ticknor uses, somewhere in his letters, of Dante. The Psalter is like the *mare magnum* of the early explorers; every voyage on it is sure to be rewarded by some fresh (real or supposed) discovery. On the whole the text-criticism is very able. At the same time, we must remember Kamphausen's caution.¹ The versions have in time past been comparatively neglected in text-criticism; now perhaps the pendulum will swing to the other side, and they will be overvalued. In 1888 I could not always accept Baethgen's corrections from the versions, nor can I now. I think that he has but little sense of rhythm, or even of a natural Hebrew style. Many a happy conjecture may, I think, be made even without the versions (which may themselves be full of conjectures), unless indeed we hold with Bentley, 'that in the sacred writings there's no place for conjectures.' It is sad to see that no notice has been taken of Lagarde's and Bickell's masterly corrections; Prof. T. K. Abbott's (in his recent *Essays*) he could hardly be expected to know. Still I heartily approve the freedom with which dots are used to indicate corrupt passages; indeed, they might perhaps have been scattered still more freely. As to Baethgen's exegesis, I am bound to say that it is weak in Biblical theology. It would seem that, just as in his text-criticism he is too much influenced by the versions, so in his exegesis he attaches too much weight to his old friend Theodore, who, after all, was a very early and also (in age) a very youthful interpreter. One of the psalms in the exegesis of which Theodore's influence is most perceptible is the 16th, which Baethgen interprets exclusively of the people of Israel. To me, I confess, the exclusive application of the nation-theory to this psalm seems rather difficult.² Mr Montefiore criticised me formerly for combining the two possible theories (in my *Book of Psalms*), but I am not sure that I was wrong. A double interpretation of certain psalms seems at any rate possible, and in the case of Ps. xvi. and xvii. it is specially recommended by the difficulty of explaining Ps. xvi. 10, 11, and xvii. 15, on the theory adopted by Baethgen and Wildeboer³ from Theodore. Baethgen's commentary, however, is at any rate interesting. His correction of v. 3 (rejected by myself in 1888, but accepted by Nowack) involves making Ps. xvi. later at any rate than 2nd Isaiah. In

¹ Review of Nowack's *Psalmen*, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1888, p. 577.

² Kuenen, according to Mr Wicksteed, admitted in his latest notes 'a presentiment of the belief in immortality' (*Jewish Quarterly Review*).

³ See *Expositor*, January 1892.

v. 4 he leaves מִהֵרָּה untranslated ; in v. 5 he corrects תּוֹמִיךָ into תּוֹסִיךָ. On v. 4 he omits to refer to Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, which might have assisted him in making out a pre-Exilic date. It is, however, rather perhaps his fellow-commentator Duhm who had occasion to go into this subject in commenting on Isa. lxx., lxvi.

I now propose to take a few psalms in order. There is, of course, more to praise than to blame ; the reader will kindly understand this. Biblical theology is not Baethgen's strong point ; I shall therefore not refer to it. On Ps. ii. 1, why is nothing said of רִנָּה ? ii. 4—The expression 'יֵשֶׁב ב' is stated to be a mark of late speech, continuous habitation being expressed elsewhere by יָשָׁב with the accus. Is not this too subtle ? The observation might be difficult to prove. ii. 6—If the psalm is late, why object to the rendering 'anointed' ? ii. 12—Surely בֶּרֶךְ 'son' is obviously wrong ; Lagarde's brilliant conjecture מוֹכֶרָה (or מוֹכֶרָה) נִשְׁקִי, 'Put on (again) his bonds,' ought to be accepted without hesitation. Ps. vii., introd.—To the allusions to Jeremiah add that in v. 15 to Jer. xviii. 20, 22, and on the heading, comp. *Expositor*, March 1892, p. 234 (should we not read 'Shimei, the son of Kish,' cf. Targum). vii. 18, עֲלִיךָ—A reference was called for to the *Beiträge*. viii. 2—Dots at the beginning of line 2 indicate the corruptness of the text. viii. 3—'This glory (of God) even the little children praise ; the other ages of life are of course not excluded.' Surely this is a poor explanation. The psalmist is struck by the strange contrast between the praise of 'children' and the noisy fury of Jehovah's enemies. Surely the 'children' must be the believers (cf. Ps. cxxxi. 2). On x. 3 no real help is given. x. 1-15 is, Baethgen thinks, a later insertion, harsher and more peculiar in style than the rest of Ps. ix. and x. A rather harsh emendation is given of x. 8, after LXX. ; Lagarde's correction in the *Agathangelus* is not referred to. xi. 5, B. agrees with Bickell (without naming him), but in xi. 4 he improves on that critic's supplement by inserting לְחֵלֶד ; this is one of Baethgen's best text corrections, and the argument is in his best style. In xii. 7 he retains בַּעֲלִיל לְאָרֶץ ; but how can this be right ? ב' is a gloss (see my critical note) ; ל in לְאָרֶץ has arisen from dittography, and אָרֶץ is a corruption of חֶרֶץ. Render, 'silver well-trying ; gold seven times refined.' In xviii. 2, Baethgen retains אֶרְחָמֶךָ. Surely this is a mistake. The love of God is not a natural idea here (apart from the Aramaism). Must we not either omit the line (as lately Mr Addis, *Hexateuch* i., Introd. p. lx.) or better read אֶרְמֶיךָ. In xviii. 12 he

reads (with 2 Sam.) *הוֹשֵׁרֵי מַיִם*, rendering 'sprühendes Wasser' (post-Biblical usage). In xviii. 32 no note is given on *אֱלֹהֵי*. Yet this word is a mark of date, if, as Baethgen himself has argued elsewhere (*Beiträge*, p. 297), it was coined as a singular to *אֱלֹהִים* by the author of the song in Deut. xxxii. We may, of course, correct *אֱלֹהֵי* into *אֵל* (the reading in 2 Sam.). In the *Beiträge* Baethgen expressly does this, and perhaps he meant to do so here. But if he still adheres to this view, one must, I fear, call it an improbable one. *אֱלֹהֵי*, outside Job, is an exceedingly rare word; is it more likely that *אֵל* should be altered into *אֱלֹהֵי*, or *אֱלֹהֵי* into *אֵל*? There can, I think, be but one answer. At xxii. 2, Baethgen still adheres to his ingenious and certainly scientific, but surely very improbable reading. On the rendering of LXX., he should have compared Hatch, *Biblical Greek*, p. 191. xxii. 17—he reads *כָּאֲרִי* (*plene* for *כָּרִי*). Of xxii. 30-32 he gives a text and an interpretation which are equally original, and makes the last stichus *כִּי עָשָׂה*; can this be right? In his view of Ps. xxiii. he is a great heretic (with Theodore); he makes it (exclusively) a psalm of the nation. In v. 6*b* he gives, 'and I shall return to the house of Yahvè.' xxvii. 6—*סוֹבַבְתִּי*, very good. xxvii. 13—he keeps *לֹלֵא*, because he cannot see how the word can have been inserted. But will Baethgen wait till he knows everything? Alas for criticism! The author of Ps. cxvi. 10 borrows *הַאֲמַנְתִּי*, but not *לֹלֵא*. Whence came the *לֵא* in Hos. xi. 5? Will Baethgen venture to defend it? xxx. 8*a*—'Thou hadst founded strength for my mountain' (*i.e.*, Zion). Surely this is wrong. If to emend *הַעֲמַדְתָּה* into *הַעֲמַדְתִּי* is 'zu gewaltsam,' we had better leave all hard passages untranslated. I doubt, moreover, whether the 'mountain' (or 'mountains') is that of Jerusalem; is not this rather prosaic? (*cf.* lxi. 3). xxxi. 3—Does Baethgen really admit no distinction between *מָעַז* and *מָעֹז*? xxxi. 11—B. reads *בָּאֲנִי* (LXX.); this removes the only direct reference to sin. xxxi. 12—B. actually retains *מְאֹד* ('wie sehr'), and in xxxv. 4 *וּסְכֹר*. At xlii. 5, he resists the temptation of correcting the text; and yet, if the psalm be really pre-Exilic, he ought surely to have followed LXX., as Street did, long before Bredenkamp (see his translation of the Psalms, 1790). xlii. 5*b*—he adheres to his old emendation (after LXX.). I must confess that, if it really is correct, v. 5*a* must, in my opinion, be corrupt. For this view, however, no other reason can be offered; what is there against

Olshausen's proposition, except that it restores one word to v. 5a, to the great advantage of the rhythm? The reading of LXX. is, I believe, based on an erroneous conjecture. xlix. 15, last line, left untranslated. lvi. 5—"with God will I praise his word," comparing Isa. xxvi. 13. But this view of Isa. l. c., seems incorrect (see Dillmann); on both passages *cf.* my *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 333. lvi. 8—most unsatisfactory; dots would have been in place. פִּלֵּט must be corrupt; in xxxiii. 7, read תַּפְּלִיטִי (רַנִּי is merely ditto-graphy). lxv. 6—B. keeps the startling text-reading וְיָם, but in v. 2 rightly (though boldly) reads דְּוִמְיָה. His comment on v. 3 is admirable. On Ps. lxviii. not much help is given, nor could it well be expected. Nothing is said about the strophes or the rhythm of the psalm, important as this subject is. At v. 9b, he is attracted by the suggested emendation וְעַ for וְהָ (Grätz), and at v. 31 by עֵינַי בְּעֵלֵי עֵינַי ("Matthes bei Cheyne" should of course be "Matthes und Cheyne"), but he does not adopt either, and leaves a number of fine corrections unnoticed. lxxii. 9—"Die Aenderung צָרִים taugt nicht." I should have ventured to say, "'Steppenbewohner' taugt nicht." Correct עָרִים or עָרָיו. עֵינַי deserved a fuller note. xci. 9—Surely rhythm and grammar alike require us to supply a word. xciv. 4—יְהִי תִּפְאָרָה, "es reden hin und her," a very difficult rendering. cvii. 3—Can the poet have put the west twice over? To me יָמִין seems the right reading here, but יָם in Isa. xlix. 12 (where omit צָפוֹן with Duhm, after LXX. cod. A). cxvi. 1—a simple correction is missed. cxvi. 10—if ה' is borrowed from xxvii. 13, the rendering "ich hatte Glauben" is not correct. cxvi. 14—a later insertion (as Hitzig). cxvi. 15, note worth considering (*cf.* Hitzig); and the same remark especially applies to the commentary on Ps. cxxxii.

On the whole, I must confess to much satisfaction with the book, considering the starting-point of its author. Cornill, who is now one of the leaders of the advanced critical movement in Germany, was once rather conservative on the psalms; it is not impossible that Baethgen may join him. Although the programme of the publisher has not been adequately fulfilled by this scholar's work, this comparative failure does but prove that the editors aim to be impartial in their selection of workers. The present volume will be of special value critically to conservatively inclined students, to whom it will give a salutary stimulus, while its general accuracy (except in controversy) will be appreciated by scholars of every school or party.

T. K. CHEYNE.

**The Memorabilia of Jesus, commonly called the Gospel
of John.**

By William Wynne Peyton, Minister of Free St Luke's, Broughty-Ferry. London and Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 8vo, pp. x. 513. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS is a remarkable book in many ways—a book with plenty of faults, no doubt, but also not a few rare excellencies and beauties. For its own sake it ought to be widely read, but considering who is the author of it, we should expect that every student of theology would turn to it with interest and hope. For it is the criticism of an old Eastern writer by a modern Eastern thinker, who may fairly be expected to understand his subject better than it is well possible for the European mind to do. The idiosyncrasies of the East and West are very different, and we have long been convinced that Christianity will be presented in some fresh lights as soon as a competent Indian believer shall tell us how it appears to him. Mr Peyton, indeed, is only half an Indian, and his culture is strictly European and scientific; yet he seems to be, in many respects, singularly well qualified for this task. He is a genuine believer—at bottom even fairly orthodox. He is perfectly simple, guileless, and sincere. He is a man of genius, too, commenting on another man of genius, full of sympathy with him, and possessed of a singular felicity of expression, marred indeed by frequent Carlylisms, and not without other blemishes which might have been easily avoided. On the whole, however, the beauties of this book are far more than its faults, though he is likely enough to hear more about the latter than about the former. The critic need not be very captious in order to detect its weak points.

Having alluded to the faults of the book, it may be as well to deal with them in the outset, and be done with the unpleasant part of our task. The chief source, then, of these blemishes is, curiously enough, that which forms a main element of its interest and originality. Mr Peyton is a naturalist, thoroughly versed in modern science, fully convinced of the doctrine of evolution, and applying it as boldly to the facts of religious life as he would to the phenomena of Nature. This forms, we think, a great counterbalancing weight against the advantage he possesses as an Eastern in dealing with an Eastern faith. We should have felt more disposed to listen to him, had his culture been as Asiatic as his birth. But Mr Peyton is not only richly furnished with scientific facts and ideas, but these also are his main key with which he seeks to unlock the mysteries of John's Gospel. Now, apart from the question, how far the dis-

coveries of modern science may be used to illustrate the doctrines of an ancient religion, it must be evident that they afford no clue to the mind of the Apostle or his Master. They knew nothing of our science. It had no place in those Hebrew traditions by which their thoughts were naturally fashioned. The ideas of the Prophets and Psalmists were alien from those of Darwin and Huxley. We must not read the one into the other, then, and think that we have got at the mind of the elder writer by that process. This, we think, Mr Peyton has done more than once; and indeed his constant stretching of the Apostle's sayings on the framework of modern science, interesting as it often is, and at times highly suggestive, tends to create some distrust of the author as a legitimate interpreter of the mind of John.

In addition to his being an enthusiastic naturalist, Mr Peyton is also an avowed Mystic. That, however, is no disqualification to him as a critical expositor of John, for John had in himself, too, a good many of the elements that go to make a Mystic, and his Gospel has always been a kind of free field where men of that type may range. But it is curious that a man of this type should come out of a Scottish manse. The Scotch mind certainly is not given to Mysticism. Very few of our Theologians have even had a tinge of it. There may have been a faint strain of it in Leighton and Rutherford, a little more in Scougal, and also in the late Mr Wright of Borthwick. But it is rare to find even an echo of it in a Scottish pulpit. Mr Peyton is not a Scotsman, yet he has for quarter of a century ministered to a Presbyterian congregation, and nevertheless he is an avowed and out and out Mystic. To him all nature is radiant with the supernatural. The things visible are but a thin veil half-concealing the invisible. Miracle waits for a man of sufficient intensity of character to draw forth its powers. Much as he loves, and carefully as he has studied stones, flowers, and living creatures of all kinds, it is mainly as emblems of higher things that he lingers so fondly over them. As a result, the material and the spiritual are apt to get a little mixed now and then; and also, as it is with other Mystics, he is prone to treat with supreme indifference matters which are of no small moment to more commonplace minds. The question, *e.g.*, whether John wrote his Gospel about the year 90, or whether some one else penned it about A.D. 140, is dealt with as a pure "irrelevancy"—a fossil which should be relegated to a museum of curiosities. What does it really matter which view you take? In the one case you have the testimony of an eye witness to the character and work of Jesus; in the other you have a similar testimony to the religious life which He called into being. The one is a mere biography, and Mr Peyton has no very high idea of that kind of literature; the other is a biology,

illustrating the laws and forces of a well-established vital economy, which to his mind is a thing of far greater moment. Hence he says :—

"The Johannine Memorabilia is not historical literature, as is commonly understood, a recital of occurrences, or a portrait of a life lived, a mere biography. It is not a literal history in substance, or form, or intention. But it is a superior history—a biography such as should be written. It takes for granted facts and events which have been widely published, and gives to the biographies of Matthew and Luke the idea and the emotion which inspire the forces of history" (p. 14). And again at page 10 : "From the viewpoint of biology, a literature of life is more valuable and accurate in gauging its contents, and explaining the phenomenon (if) written in the second century. Life has had time to reveal itself, and to be a subject of thought ; thinkers have had time to study it. In the first generation the Christian life may (might ?) have been what a botanist calls a sport—an unstable variation to revert back to the type from which it started ; and indeed the Christian life was long regarded as only an outburst of Hebraism, and it even looked as if it would not extricate itself from Hebraism. In the second century the Christian life has had time to assert itself, to show its distinctiveness, to establish itself as a species, and be the subject of a literature. To the mind of a biologist the Memorabilia would be more valuable as a veritable account of a life written in the second century, more veracious, more trustworthy." Mr Peyton began by pooch-pooching all questions about chronology and genuineness as mere irrelevances. He ends by preferring the later date and the unknown authorship, not on any scholarly grounds of fact, but simply for biological reasons, which fit into his way of thinking. Whether he expects people to agree with him in this or not, he himself is evidently convinced of its truth ; and it must be confessed that, in his exposition of it, he has uttered many wise and thoughtful words which, indeed, have failed to persuade us, but have succeeded in giving us not a little pleasure in the reading.

The central and ruling thought in this book is not, as in most theological works, Sin, and how to be delivered from it, but God, and how He is to be known and served. As an evolutionist he does not admit of any "fall," or moral cataclysm necessitating a "scheme of redemption," though, of course, he fully allows the existence of sin in the world, and the need of getting rid of it. All human history, however, has been steadily working out the original divine idea. There is "a light which enlighteneth everyone that cometh into the world," and that light he traces even in the most unlikely quarters. In the nature-worship, of the Polynesian, *e.g.*, he sees "incipient forms of the Incarnation idea." Indeed, he has

a kindly feeling for Pagans, and insists that in a proper science of religion all that is good in their systems shall be gathered up into the mystic Christianity which he finds in John. That mystical faith will see God everywhere—God immanent in Nature and in man; God transcendent, as Creator, being over all, as well as in all. But that vision can only come to perfection, first, by obeying the truth, and second, by using the light of biology to guide us. Under that guidance Mr Peyton certainly leads his readers into many "fresh fields and pastures new." But it is not because he dislikes the old. "It is an unworthy feeling," he says, "which I hear in the air, this railing at the old Theology. That theology has done well by us; it has brought us so far, and where we are. It was that interpretation of the universe by which our fathers lived nobly, and died bravely. No son despises his patrimony if he is a wise man. The wise son, however, does not keep his patrimony only, but increases it, and brings it up to date in the market." And thereupon he shows how it is to be brought up to date by the facts and laws of biology. Christ and His cross form a new environment which necessarily tells on His creatures. "Every finer vision of God has come with new demands upon men. . . . The idea of God is a pressure of ideals upon us. It gives us a sketch of what man is to be—like God, like the divine original. Now that the crucifixion has been enacted, it has become a severe environment for us, giving us superior laws of life, calling us to a profounder sense of sin, to a spirit of love and sacrifice, to self-renunciation and self-effacement. It is a kindly force, but an exacting kindness. It asks for reciprocity. Meet the crucifixion with your sorrow and sacrifice, meet the love of God with an answering love; then their action upon you transforms you into a new creature. It is the birth of Christian character" (pp. 233-4).

Dr Marcus Dods has lately published a series of discourses on this same Gospel of John, and it is curious to contrast his work with that of Mr Peyton. They are both ministers of the same Church; both men of great ability and learning. Dr Dods' book is a scholarly production on the old lines, not without fresh thought and eloquent exposition, such as we might have expected from a man of his large calibre. But a mere glance at the headings of their several chapters indicates the radical difference of their books, and of the minds that produced them. Dr Dods deals naturally with such themes as "The Incarnation," "The Miracle at Cana," "Nicodemus," "The Woman of Samaria," and other themes suggested by the narrative of John. Mr Peyton does not ignore these by any means. But they are introduced under such headings as these—"The Evolution Idea," "Mysticism," "Natural Selection," "Physiology," and such like. There can be no doubt as to

the originality of his method, then ; though it may seem to be more curious than illuminative. It may be said, indeed, that both the records—that of Nature, and that of Scripture—come from the same source, and may be expected therefore to have close vital analogies. Why should not something, at least, akin to Natural Law have its place in the spiritual world ? Mr Drummond touched on that in his book, but Mr Peyton applies the idea in a much more thorough fashion, adding to it also the element of mysticism, which softens certain lines that would be otherwise hard and sharp. Of course, the Gospel as it is thus presented has a somewhat unfamiliar aspect, and will probably startle some good people. Yet, when we look narrowly into it, though it is not exactly the Pauline Gospel, it contains nearly all the Catholic truth as received equally by the different schools of Christian thought. The Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection, if they are stated in terms of biology, are yet very distinct articles of Mr Peyton's faith, and if he does not believe in a personal Devil, except as a servant of God, working out the divine purposes like sickness and pain, yet he has, as we might expect from so pure a spirit, a deep sense of sin, and of the temptations which beset us. He is an original thinker, but he is also a loyal believer, and it takes some time to adjust the proper relations of originality and orthodoxy. If people do not judge in a hurry, but take a little time to think, it will probably turn out that, though Mr Peyton's book jerked them out of some old ruts, it has left the current of their thoughts about God to flow essentially in the old direction to the glory of His grace.

Had space permitted, we could have quoted largely from this book ; for it is full of beauty and freshness. One or two passages we select almost at random, that our readers may just have a taste of what abounds in it. Here is a defence of his mysticism : "To make ourselves conscious of the world within, is imperative upon us. It is the best of us. We are far too conscious of the world without us. It is in thought, in passion, in vision that we meet with God. It is not our temptation to be much in these parts. We have to force ourselves into those mystic regions. The quietist is blamed for being too much with himself ; but there is not much danger of the ordinary man overdoing quietism. To like our own soul, and enjoy the society we find there, and to tap the wealth which has stratified there, is a neglected duty, and the quietists are teaching us our duty. They like the silences of the soul and the stillnesses of Nature which speak to the inner silences, and the divine society found in them both. . . . O my soul, thou art not far from thy Christ. Christ is within thee. In thy breath is the breath of God. The stir of thy days is from the tides of the Infinite" (pp. 35-6). Here again is a sketch from Nature, bright

as with the dew of the morning, which might have come from the late Mr Jeffries: "Take a walk along a lake side . . . among the hills. It receives the streams that issue from the corries, and all the torrents which the rains wash down. The pretty face looks up to Alpine heights. It is like Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, receiving thought and feeling for canticles of praise. As you walk along, a scud of clouds is caught and reflected on its glassy surface. Look round, and there is a huge boulder which glaciers have transported from a distant rock region; it is flecked with lichens, and the polypody fern peeps out from every crevice of it, and the bilberry with its blue vase-like fruit is growing on its mossy back. Move on, and the turtle-dove is cooing in the wood, and not far from you is the corn-crake, and the capercaillie is watching you from a larch bough. A few feet forward, and the veronica on the roadside, and the foxglove on the stony heap, and the grass of Parnassus in the ditch are in their best summer dress. In a bend of the lake you will see a trout leaping out to catch flies, and the moorhen dips down to shun you. A few more steps, and you will see the humble-bee humming to the flowers, who is out in all weathers, and has his errands to the clover and the broom, and the waterbank at all times" (pp. 58-9). Take one more word of a different type: "That is one of the highest moments of our being when we become conscious of a want which mere living has not slaked, and in this want become conscious of Christ. In this dearth we go beyond the law of right doing; it is not mere humaneness that we desire. It is the supreme of being to wake up, and seek to know about your upper and further relations with an unseen Universe around you. This want gives us our measurements. When we want God, we measure a space for which arithmetic has no numbers. It is the best and most of us, the stir of the spirit, the tumult of the Eternal. We move indeed, from the human basis to find God, to find the righteousness of God, which is by faith in Christ Jesus. We cannot rest in ethical practice, the dry and thirsty land where is no water. 'My soul thirsts for God. As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul for God.'"

But we must have done. There are innumerable passages of similar and even greater beauty, mixed up of course with biological and physiological ideas. To Mr Peyton these scientific views appear to be the chief contribution he has made to the exposition of John, but not a few of his readers will probably feel that the main charm of the book—and it has a great charm—lies in those passages which can be most readily separated from his special line of thought. In any case it must be acknowledged to be an original and suggestive contribution to the theology of the New Testament; and we do not

envy the intellectual condition of those who can read it, and fail to discover the wealth of beauty it contains—the rich veins of fine gold, any one of which would form sufficient capital to set up an ordinary reviewer.

WALTER SMITH.

Bruno Baentsch.

Das Bundesbuch, Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33, seine ursprüngliche Gestalt, sein Verhältniss zu den es umgebenden Quellschriften, und seine Stellung in der alt-testamentlichen Gesetzgebung (Halle a. S., 1892). London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. 123. Price M. 2.80.

THIS is a study on the complicated problem which arises when the body of legislation, Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33, known as the "Book of the Covenant" (see Ex. xxiv. 7) is considered, partly in connection with the Decalogue, and the accompanying narrative in which it is embedded (Ex. xix. 3—xx. 21; xxiv. 1-14), partly in connection with Ex. xxxiv., where (vv. 10-27) the more distinctly theocratic ordinances of the Book of the Covenant re-appear, with slight variations of expression, in a duplicate form. Certainly, there is no question that the whole of the passages just quoted belong to the narrative of "JE"; there are also sections which may be referred with reasonable probability to J and E respectively: but the conclusions which are clear by no means exhaust all the questions to which these sections of the Pentateuch give rise; and in their endeavour to solve them, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Dillmann, and Jülicher have all been led to more or less divergent results. The phenomena which these sections present are, in fact, of a character which demands for their explanation a larger hypothetical element than is usual; and hence it is only what is to be expected if independent investigators, when they attempt to form a comprehensive theory of the narrative as a whole, should differ in the nature of the hypotheses which they frame for the purpose of explaining it.

The present monograph consists of three parts. After an Introduction (pp. 1-11), in which the author states his critical standpoint, there follows (pp. 12-58) a careful analysis of the contents of the "Book of the Covenant," an examination of its plan, and a discussion (p. 41 ff.) of the transpositions and additions by which (as other critics had previously observed) its original form appears to have been modified. The author's criticisms are moderate, and in the assumption of changes of this kind he does not substantially go beyond what has been already accepted as probable by Dillmann.

There is a good note (p. 29 ff.) on the meaning of מִשְׁפָּטִים (Ex. xxi. 1); and the distinction of form between the civil and the moral or religious provisions of the code is well brought out. Part ii. (pp. 59-91) contains the author's more detailed examination of the two codes, Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. and Ex. xxxiv. 10-27, his discussion of the question to what source each is to be referred, and his theory of the relation which they hold to one another. He shows satisfactorily (pp. 60-68) that the grounds which have been adduced for the purpose of showing that the "Book of the Covenant" is the composition of E, are insufficient; and upon linguistic and material grounds alike it is clear that it is not the work of J. As, then, it is not the composition of either E or J, it follows that it must be an independent body of laws, which has been incorporated, with the modifications that have been pointed out previously, into the narrative of one or other of these authors; and here Baentsch decides with Wellhausen, against Kuenen and Dillmann, in favour of J (pp. 68-73). Did it, however, always hold in the narrative of J the position which it now occupies? At present xxiv. 3 stamps it definitely as comprehending the terms of a *covenant* concluded between Jehovah and Israel at Sinai; yet this term is never used in the code itself, and by its contents, consisting principally of enactments relating to civil and criminal law, it is ill adapted to subserve such a purpose. On the other hand, the code in Ex. xxxiv. 10-27 is expressly termed a "covenant," and its provisions, consisting almost wholly of theocratic ordinances, specifying how the national God is to be honoured, are in entire harmony with such a designation. Accordingly Baentsch argues that Ex. xxxiv. 10-27 is the true "Book of the Covenant," to which, originally, xxxiv. 1-5 in a briefer form (involving no reference to the "first" tables) was the introduction, and xxiv. 4-8 the sequel. E's original account of the Sinaitic legislation comprised Ex. xix. 15-19, xx. 18-21, xx. 1-17,¹ xxiv. 3 (in its original form, without "and all the judgments," relating how Moses communicated the Decalogue to the people); J's original narrative of the Sinaitic legislation comprised Ex. xix. 20-22, 25, xxxiv. 1-5 (in a briefer form), xxxiv. 10-27 (in its original form, consisting of ten commands, with a brief introduction), xxiv. 4-8. (These last verses are usually (*e.g.*, by Wellhausen and Budde, *l.c.*, p. 222) assigned to E; but the marks of E's style are mostly confined to the second part of v. 4, and this Baentsch allows (p. 72) to be a notice derived from E.) The redactor of JE was desirous of combining the two narratives, but felt that the

¹ In this order: for Baentsch, like Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 327 f., and Budde in the *Z.A.T.W.*, 1891, p. 229, agrees with Kuenen in supposing xx. 18-21 to have been transposed from its original position.

Decalogue in Ex. xx. 1-17 was of a character that did not readily admit of being followed immediately by another Decalogue so similar in form as the original draft of xxxiv. 10-27 must have been: a longer and more special body of law did not, however, seem to him to be open to the same objection; hence he substituted after the Decalogue, in lieu of Ex. xxxiv. 1-5, 10-27, the code Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 19, accommodating it to its new character of a "Covenant" by the addition of xxiii. 20-33, and at the same time facilitating the transition to xxiv. 4-8, by the retention of xxiv. 3, which was modified so as to refer to the legislation of xx. 22—xxiii. (instead of, as had originally been the case, to the Decalogue), by the addition of the words "and all the judgments" (p. 77 f., 85; cf. p. 57 f., 73). It is impossible to state here the subsidiary arguments by which the author supports this theory: it must suffice to say that they are generally, taken in themselves, reasonable, and the observation that xxxiv. 10-27 is better adapted than xx. 22—xxiii. 33 to form the basis of a "Covenant" is certainly a forcible one. At the same time, when a theory depends for its validity upon a series of independent stages having been passed through, even though each separate step be not in itself an improbable one, the probability of the *combination* having taken place may be but slight; and where the phenonema to be accounted for are varied and numerous, it is often possible to frame more than one theory, which (in the imperfect state of our knowledge) may be apparently capable of explaining them. The narrative of JE in Ex. xix.-xxiv., xxxii.-xxxiv., affords many indications that it has passed through more hands than one, before it reached its present form, so that complication alone is no conclusive objection against a theory of its origin; but where many alternatives seem to be possible, the complicated character of one will make us hesitate before we yield it our unconditional assent. Baentsch's study on the *Bundesbuch* contains many just and true observations, and he can claim the merit of having made a clever and ably reasoned endeavour to solve the problem which JE's narrative in this part of Exodus presents; but his conclusions presuppose too many changes and transpositions, and involve generally too large an element of conjecture, to come home to the mind with cogency, or to satisfy it of their truth.

The third part of Baentsch's essay (pp. 92-123) consists of a comparison of the contents of Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. with the other codes of law contained in the Pentateuch, with the object of ascertaining their relative age. The comparison with Ex. xxxiv. 10-27 brings the author to the conclusion that while in its present form this code bears the marks of a later age than Ex. xx. 22—xxiii., in its original form, as Wellhausen, for instance, sought to re-

construct it (see the present writer's *Introduction*, p. 37), it is the work of an earlier age (p. 101). Deuteronomy expands and develops the provisions of the Book of the Covenant, in accordance with the more advanced religious standpoint which its author occupies (p. 108). Certain parts of the "Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.) display an affinity with Ex. xx. 22—xxiii.; but the connection is far less intimate and organic than that subsisting between Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. and Deuteronomy. The Priests' Code exhibits scarcely any points of contact with it (pp. 111-117). The main stock of the "Book of the Covenant" is, at least, as old as the ninth century B.C.; it formed the foundation both of civil law and also of the moral and religious life of Israel during the pre-exilic period; it was also the basis on which the further progress of Hebrew legislation rested (pp. 117, 120 f.).

Baentsch's essay is lucid and readable. The first and third chapters are, we think, its most useful parts: if the theory propounded in the second chapter fails to convince us, we are, nevertheless, grateful to the author for his reconsideration of a difficult problem, and for the creditable and meritorious endeavour made by him to solve it.

S. R. DRIVER.

The Soteriology of the New Testament.

By William Porcher du Bose, M.A., S.T.D., Professor of Exegesis in the University of the South. London: Macmillan & Co.; and New York. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. 391. Price 7s. 6d.

If any one should be led by the title of this book to expect a contribution to the Biblical Theology of the subject, he will be disappointed. An exact and scholarly examination of the different types of New Testament teaching on the subject of Salvation, how it was procured for men, and how it is applied to them, would be a welcome addition to our slender stock of English works of this class. But the present book is of another class altogether. It is not inductive; it is not exegetical; it is not even specially Biblical. Of course the author, like other theologians, believes his system to be the one taught in the New Testament; and here and there he is at pains to explain in harmony with it certain leading New Testament texts. For all that, his method is essentially dogmatic. He lays down his guiding lines at the outset and builds on them his system. "Soteriology" is a title which may be made to cover more or less: with Dr Bose it covers a great deal. In a short compass he knits together a coherent scheme, embracing the Incarnation, the Person

and Work of Christ, the application of His Salvation to the individual, and even the Sacraments. The thinking is fresh, expressed in a style not always graceful or easy to read but always exact and intelligible. Essentially a suggestive book; which perhaps provokes dissent as much as assent; but which at all events provokes the reader to think.

Defining salvation at the outset to be the deliverance of man from evil by attaining all the good of which human beings are capable, the author finds human good to consist in three particulars, answering, not exactly to the usual trichotomy, but to the words, "nature," "personality," and "spirit." Natural good is Life, which is simply Happiness in the realisation of Selfhood; Personal good is real ethical freedom in obedience to moral law, or Righteousness; Spiritual good is Holiness, or the personal union of man with God as a son with a Father. On this threefold scheme of human good (to which the evils correspond, of death, bondage, and sin), the whole of Dr du Bose's soteriology is reared; and yet the scheme does not seem to be by any means beyond criticism. No doubt we are meant to think of these three, Life, Righteousness, and Holiness, as rather distinct aspects of what is essentially one indivisible "good" than as three separate or separable blessings. Still, it excites misgiving as to the clearness of our author's thinking, or the correctness of his analysis, when he is forced by his system to speak of "sin" as the antithesis of holiness, but *not* of obedience; or when he has to limit the words "life" and "happiness" to the natural pleasure of a completed "selfhood." Already, at all events, one begins to find his use of terms a little confusing.

On the above triple division, taken backwards, Christ's work arranges itself as (1) *Reconciliation*, or the spiritual reunion of man to God as son to Father by imparting holiness instead of sin: in other words, as Sanctification; (2) *Redemption*, or the liberation of the personal will from bondage to sin in the nature so that it freely obeys the true law of its moral being: in other words, as Justification; and (3) *Resurrection*, or the destruction of death by the recovery of the full and healthful activity proper to man's nature: or in other words, as Regeneration. The inconvenience of our author's arrangement surely becomes more conspicuous here; where he is obliged, for example, to separate the new birth from the sonship which results from it; and to give to sanctification a sense which has nothing to do with obedience to the divine will. Passing over, however, this perplexing employment of old terms in new senses and connections, what the reader notes is that every term is taken to denote a real change in man's state, and none of them at all any change in his relations to God. "Christ is our reconciliation and atonement with God in the sense and to the extent that in

Him we are more or less actually sanctified" (p. 57). "There is no real reconciliation but holiness, for the reason that as sin is the only separation from God and enmity with Him, so holiness is the only union and oneness with Him of which we are capable. And in the same way there is no redemption but righteousness, because righteousness is the only freedom of a moral being, and all unrighteousness is bondage or slavery; and redemption means deliverance from bondage or bringing into freedom" (p. 62). Students of theology will know what to expect from a view of salvation so onesidedly subjective as this. There being no objective reconciliation of God to man or man to God precedent to sanctification, and no forensic justification or accounting of the sinner righteous, but only a making of him righteous by degrees as he learns a new obedience; one is prepared to find little here about the Reformation problem how a "fearful conscience," shaken by the sense of guilt, is to be assured of the forgiveness of sins. That is an aspect of "soteriology," conspicuous enough in the New Testament and in evangelical teaching and in devout experience, but of which such a theology as this finds nothing to say.

Coming now to enquire how salvation, such as the author conceives it, has been brought about, we reach the central thought of his whole system: which is this—"Jesus Christ is our Salvation simply because He *is so*; i.e. because He is in very actuality and reality just that, and all that, which our salvation must be defined to be. This He is, first, objectively or in Himself, and, secondly, subjectively or in us" (p. 33). He means nothing less than this, that our Lord as a man *saved Himself* precisely as other men are saved. This implies, of course, that He shared, to begin with, in the fallen condition of humanity; and Dr du Bose does not shrink from this position, startling and even repellent as it must be to Christian feeling. None the less does he fully accept the fact of the Incarnation of the Logos. He conjoins with it, indeed, certain theories, about the gradualness of the Incarnation process, which was completed only at the Ascension, and about the possession by the Divine Person of a human as well as a divine Personality or mode of personal life: theories on which a good deal would have to be said did our space permit of detailed criticism. But a true incarnation of a Divine Person in human nature he firmly holds. Only the condition in which human nature was assumed by the Logos, he takes to have been its fallen or sinful condition as it exists in other men. In fact, this is the only sense in which he admits that our Lord "took" or "bore" the sin of humanity at all; and He thus took it in order to save Himself and other men from it. Dr du Bose confesses that it never "would have occurred to him to say that our Lord in assuming our fallen nature took sin," or

indeed, that "the so-called sin of nature is sin at all," unless the Scriptures "in their fearlessness" had not hesitated to do so. This one can well believe. Scripture calls the sin of our fallen nature sin, because it is so; whereas Dr du Bose sees in the "*sarx*" or nature of fallen man apart from acts of the will, not sin in any proper sense, but only "temptation to sin" or "the weakness of the nature for sinlessness or holiness" (pp. 232-3). The weakness amounts, he tells us, to "a natural inability of the spirit in the flesh to obey its law." "But though the spirit is unable, it is not inconceivable or impossible that it should be *enabled*." And this is what happened in the case of our Lord. "He overcame the weaknesses and the temptations of the flesh, not by His human ability to do so, but by the power of the Divine Word incarnating Himself through His human faith in His human sinlessness or holiness" (p. 234). The design with which the christology of Menken has been thus revived, is that one may get a view of redemption which the author himself confesses to "savour" of Adoptianism. Christ achieved sinlessness for Himself by setting free His own spiritual human personality from the bondage and death of the flesh. And this He did in order that through our union to Him by faith the same process might be repeated in us also. This is the whole of His redeeming work, as set forth in this book. Of past sin to be atoned for, indeed of such a thing as past sin at all, the author will not hear. Of acquittal from guilt he can find no trace in the New Testament; of vicarious penalty or objective satisfaction to justice, none. But the sole idea is, that the power over us of our inherited impure nature as a consequence which sin has left upon us, be broken; and so much Christ effected, at least in His own case to begin with, when He saved Himself by His faith in God from the tendencies of His human nature, or, in other words, made Himself perfectly holy in spite of the infirmity of His flesh.

To this work of "undoing or throwing off of that flesh of sin" belonged His passion. He needed to die *in* the inherited impure nature and *to* it, in order to be sinless; and in this sense He can be said to have borne the curse and penalty, not of our past sins to be sure, but of sin as a power present in human nature. Yet the author feels himself constrained to seek after some sense in which Christ did die for the guilt of past sin. He finds it here:—"Inasmuch, *i.e.*, as all death is not only the natural but the judicial and penal consequence of all the spiritual, moral, and natural transgression which has produced it. In *this* sense, all the sin of the world, all the curse of the law, and all the wrath of God, were visited upon Him: that He had to crucify, and to be crucified in, a nature which was made what it was in Him by the sin of the world,

and in which He could only be sinless and be saved by its condemnation and destruction" (p. 324).

We need hardly say that this view of the redeeming work of our Lord appears to us to be as defective as the author's Christology, verging on a Nestorian division of the personality, is hazardous, or his ascription of inherent sinfulness to the Lord's humanity, objectionable. They all hang together consistently enough. Their common origin or starting-point in thought is probably to be sought for in a deficient apprehension of sin. A theologian must have begun by seriously underestimating the true character of those evil tendencies which now inhere in our fallen nature before he can speak as this writer does of our Lord's humanity. And if he will give its due weight to the fact of guilt or the necessary relation of sin to law, he will scarcely suppose that he has exhausted the "salvation" needed by the sinner, so long as no satisfaction has been made for past transgressions.

The subject of our Lord's Sinlessness receives pretty full and suggestive treatment at our author's hands. Of course, on his view, the achievement of ethical perfection by the Human Personality of our Lord, being in itself our atonement or objective salvation, acquires in his system central importance, and merits a corresponding measure of attention. He claims that in this way the humanness of Christ's ethical development and character comes out as it cannot do on the orthodox view. Those who have felt the difficulty, on the Church's christology, of doing justice to the human faith of Jesus in the Father or to His ceaseless dependence upon the Holy Ghost dwelling in Him, will be glad to see what Dr du Bose has to say on the "self-perfecting" of our Lord's human nature. This problem of "Sinlessness" has not less interest for favourers of traditional theology than for the newer school to which this writer belongs; for is it not the problem of Christ's "active obedience" which has always been a "loose stone" in "orthodox" theology?

When we turn from this perfecting of fallen humanity as Christ effected it in His own case, to ask how it is to be effected in our case, one is prepared to find it said that our Lord is to be received by the believer "as God's revelation, assurance, and pledge of what I am to be through faith in Him" (p. 86.) At the same time, Professor du Bose sees that it is a poor evangel which makes Jesus *no more* than a "perfect example of what we must be in order to be saved." He sees that there must be power in Him to cause that other men become what He is. And our author is able to extricate himself from a Socinian salvation through mere example, by the help of his Trinitarian Christology. It is a personal operation of the living Christ in the disciple which brings about saving changes. At this point there come in somewhat high views of the sacraments.

Baptism and the Eucharist are what they signify. "To every baptized person Jesus Christ is wholly given [not wholly *received*] in all His death to sin and in all His life to God. That divine act constitutes our *regeneration*. Baptism is the instrument of 'adoption and grace,' whereby we are 'made children of God'" (p. 364). But, of course, it is added that this coming of Christ to the individual, while it is the efficient cause of regeneration, must be met on the man's part by a subjective receiving and realizing of Christ's act through faith.

In spite of much which I must regard as seriously defective or at fault in the author's theories, he exhibits an attractive sympathy with evangelical experience, being, as one assuredly gathers, a man of spiritual piety. This reveals itself, for example, in such a fine passage as that on present peace in believing, which stands on page 108. It is true that the believer's present peace cannot, on his system of thought, repose on anything more than an assurance that he will by-and-bye attain to real peace with God, that is to say, when he has actually been made holy. An appeal to the consciousness of advanced Christians would probably show that this explanation falls short of the facts. Still the passage breathes a devout and reverent spirit which may, more or less, be felt all through, and which makes the perusal of this volume a wholesome exercise for the spirit as well as stimulating to thought.

J. OSWALD DYKES.

Riddles of the Sphinx.

A Study in the Philosophy of Evolution, by a Troglodyte.

London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. 495. Price 12s.

THE anonymous author of this work is a metaphysician, who, being dissatisfied with the attempts hitherto made to solve the problems of the relations of man to God, to the universe, and to immortality, has endeavoured to construct a philosophic system of Evolution on a basis of Idealism.

The first part of his task consists of a destructive criticism of the results of the Positivist tendency of thought at the present day, a tendency which is unsatisfying to the human mind. From our constitution we must constantly raise questions concerning things which are beyond the region of the tangible, and it is inevitable that these should have some place in our system of philosophy.

Positivism, by asserting that a philosophic system is impossible, leads directly to Agnosticism; which, as it explicitly asserts, but implicitly denies, the impossibility of a transition from the known

to the unknown, the author characterises as "the vagary of an insane logic." The doctrine of the unknowable, which he calls scientific Agnosticism, based on the inference of an unknowable region from the seemingly infinite expanse of knowledge, is founded on a parallogism, as the known can suggest the unknown but not the unknowable. He regards Mr Spencer's arguments as, for the most part, metaphors rather than arguments, and shows that they are drawn from a mistaken comparison of knowledge and space.

The epistemological Agnosticism of Kant, founded on the consideration of the relativity of knowledge to the knowing faculty, leads us to despair of knowledge, owing to the limitations of our own powers of cognition. It involves the assumption that the form and matter of knowledge are separable. It also assumes that the mind as a machine has a determinate limitation which is inconsistent with the evolution hypothesis. Agnosticism, when thus threatened to be overthrown by metaphysic, can only take refuge in scepticism, or the denial of the possibility of knowledge, and this must lead to Pessimism.

To the same goal of Pessimism tends the Pantheistic Monism in which some have taken refuge, but which, by its predication of a real Infinite, is open to serious objection. There is to the author no escape save in the system which, in his second part, he proceeds to build up.

The fundamental postulate in this reconstructed philosophy is the reality of self as the basis of all cognition. It is essentially a system of the plurality of real existences which are "ultimate spiritual entities." Thought and feeling are parallel, and all thought because human must be anthropomorphic. The method in this philosophy is a concrete metaphysic, proceeding from the phenomenally real, that is, science, to the ultimately real, that is, metaphysic. On the one hand his method differs from the abstract metaphysical of the Platonists, which, while attempting to explain the lower by the higher, assumes a discontinuity and a completeness of dualistic separation. On the other hand he rejects the pseudo-metaphysical method, which, admitting continuity, endeavours to explain the higher by the lower. By the adoption of this concrete method, he conceives that he delivers himself from the denial of the phenomenal characteristic of the Eleatics, and from Hegelianism, which he regards as a system of epistemology "which never anywhere gets within sight of a fact, or within touch of a reality." He aims at the construction of a system of doctrine whose elements are supplied by science, and whose construction will satisfy the aspirations and hopes of humanity. The ultimate test of the success of this philosophy is the completeness with which it fulfils this condition.

The evolution, which forms the basis of this system, started from

the pre-existence of absolutely independent spiritual beings, which preceded the "World-process," and, consequently, time. The Divinity is distinguished from these other existences as the Un-become and the Non-phenomenal, while they are the Becoming and Phenomenal. This divine spirit originates the "World-process" by determining to produce a perfectly co-ordinated Cosmos, and this determination is the starting-point of time. Consciousness is the product of the interaction of the Divine Being on these separate existences, and in the human spirit this shows itself in the recognition of the Ego, and its differentiation from the non-Ego—or the world outside. In the interaction of these entities in the process of co-ordination there is resistance originated in these independent egos, and this resistance is the origin of evil, which is a necessary concomitant of evolution. The ultimate goal of this evolution is the development concurrently both of the individual by the building up of its parts into a whole, and of the society through the individual. In this process the resistance is being steadily overcome; so evil will be transitory, and the perfected society will consist of harmonious individuals. When this result is attained, Time, which is the measure of the rate of Becoming, will be at an end, and Being and Eternity will characterise these post-cosmic existences.

The pre-cosmic existences postulated are, in effect, dynamical monads. As the author throws aside all but the phenomenal, he passes over, without analysis, the conception of Substance. Matter is to him "the mechanism of arrangement of the interaction between God and the spirits, a labour-saving apparatus setting free the Ego for consciousness."

The interacting monads impress each other to a varying degree, and it is this "memory" of impression, which is continuous and permanent on all monads, that, when the stage of consciousness is reached, rises to the degree of an everlasting sense of identity, which is the essence of the immortality of the soul.

The conceptions of space and time are boundless, but with him there is no real infinity of space or time corresponding to our conceptions. The idea of infinity he rejects absolutely because it is inconsistent with evolution; and as, from his pluralistic standpoint, all the existences must be coexistent, there can be no infinity even in the Deity, for, intellectually, the idea of an infinite whole is inadmissible, being inconsistent with the attributes of personality, consciousness, and power, and necessarily making all things the manifestation of God, who, therefore, becomes the author of evil.

The easily flowing style and lucidity of the exposition masks here and there the weak points in the setting forth of the system, which is rather a system of ontology arrived at without clearly definite

method than a complete philosophy. There is also throughout a tendency to make human faculty the measure, not only of our conception of the phenomenal world, but of the universe itself. It is a merit that he has for the most part thought out this system of idealistic speculation for himself, and although he often travels along tracks in which he has had many predecessors, yet he writes with the freshness of a discoverer. But the patient reader at the end will find himself not much nearer the solution of the great fundamental problems than he was at the outset. ALEX. MACALISTER.

Evolution and Scripture ; or, The Relation between the Teaching of Scripture and the Conclusions of Astronomy, Geology, and Biology, with an Inquiry into the Nature of the Scriptures and Inspiration.

By Arthur Holborow. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. Cr. 8vo, pp. 339. Price 6s.

It is one of the gravest anxieties in the training of the young at the present day to know the exact light in which the earlier narrative of the Old Testament should be held up to their view. Mr Holborow has written this interesting work, feeling deeply that in much of our religious teaching there is a large admixture of the tares of an erroneous traditionalism with the truth concerning Divine things, and he has endeavoured therein to show his method of harmonising the truth of the facts of evolution with the cosmogony and earlier world-stories of the hexateuch. The main features of his scheme, as far as they are new, are the unqualified assent which he gives to the theory of evolution as the process whereby the world, man, and human beliefs have originated, drawing the line only at the origination of the human soul, of whose genesis he adopts Mivart's view. Emphasising strongly the distinction between man's views concerning God and the real nature of the Deity, he traces the stages whereby a Monotheistic Theology was developed. The evolution in all its stages is teleological, and is the direct working out of the purposes of God, who has ordained these laws as His method in Creation and Providence. The record in Genesis is the divinely inspired history of man's early groping after God, put in such a form as was most fit for the comprehension of man in the days of its delivery to the race, and should now be read in that light. In illustrating his theme he has laid under contribution the popular literature in which is embodied the Chaldæan and other traditions of the primitive history. Indeed, the extent to which he

has overloaded his work with long quotations, often from second-rate works, is the principal weakness in his treatment of the subject.

There are probably many in the Christian Churches who occupy the position of the author, without having his range of knowledge, and who desire to believe in the inspiration of these narratives as part of the Word of God, but are troubled with doubts springing from the popular sceptical works and magazine articles now so abundantly disseminated. To such this book may prove a useful eirenicon, but we doubt that it will be much appreciated by those who do not approach the Bible in the attitude of faith.

The style is a little heavy, and in many places obscure. It is his misfortune, not his fault, that in dealing with some parts of his subject, such as the Deluge, he follows one of the greatest masters of English prose, Hugh Miller; but he has endeavoured to bring his criticism and science faithfully up to date, and his work is free from serious scientific blunders such as unfortunately disfigure too many of the writings of those who treat of science from the standpoint of believers in Revelation.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

The Church in Relation to Sceptics: A Conversational Guide to Evidential Work.

By the Rev. Alex. J. Harrison, B.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 8vo, pp. 570. Price 7s. 6d.

THIS work might well be called Practical Apologetics. It is the statement of Christianity and its evidences in relation to the actual doubts, difficulties, and objections of real men. What these objections are, Mr Harrison has learned by actual intercourse with those who held them. Thus the book is real, bears the impress of actual fact and life, and is not the Apologetic of the chair or of the study, but of reality. We do not mean that Mr Harrison's book is not learned, nor able; but we mean that he has brought learning and judgment of no ordinary kind to bear on the actual doubts and difficulties of real men. We have been much impressed with the power of the book, and with his arguments we largely agree. But in some cases we are constrained to dissent. Was it necessary, for instance, to make that attack on St Paul which is contained in the fifteenth chapter of the Book? We are not sure whether the views set forth are the views of Mr Harrison or not. They are put into the mouth of the ideal doubter; but, as a matter of fact, they are not answered, and we are left with the impression that the teaching of Paul was in some respects antagonistic to the teaching of Christ;

while of Jesus Christ it is said, "I can find no scientific evidence that Christ's words must be interpreted in that sense; but should such evidence be forthcoming, I should feel that I should honour Him more, and be truer to His teaching as a whole, in believing that on that point He was mistaken, or that He had been misrepresented by the evangelist." It seems a strained situation, and Mr Harrison's words seem to lay undue stress on his own powers of judgment. It seems an undue exercise of self-confidence to speak as he has done. We have been sorry to find some other things of the same kind; for, as a whole the book is good and true and helpful. It manifests a unique acquaintance both with the actual state of things at the present hour, and a singular power of prompt and cogent dealing with real doubts, perplexities, and objections.

JAMES IVERACH.

Revelation and the Bible.

An Attempt at Reconstruction. By Robert F. Horton, M.A.
London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 412.
Price 7s. 6d.

Inspiration and the Authority of the Bible.

By John Clifford, M.A., D.D. London: James Clarke & Co.
8vo, pp. 154. Price 1s.

Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck.

Von A. Hegler, Privatdocent der Theologie in Tübingen. Freiburg, i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xii. 291. Price M. 8.

THESE works make manifest that a grave problem is presented to all the churches, and that many people are earnestly seeking to find an adequate solution. Mr Horton puts the question thus: "As the traditional view of the Bible gradually fades in the clear light of knowledge and truth, those who reluctantly surrender the antique dogma naturally ask for a definite faith to take its place: they want to know at once how they can admit the truth and yet retain their Bible, how they can grant the human handiwork, and yet grasp the Divine substance of the Book?" How is the problem to be stated? For there are many ways of stating it. Shall we, with the distinguished American divines, Dr A. A. Hodge and Dr B. B. Warfield, say, "The historical faith of the Church has always been that all the affirmations of Scripture of all kinds, whether of

spiritual doctrine or duty, or of physical or historical fact, or of psychological or philosophical principle, are without any error when the *ipsissima verba* of the original autographs are ascertained and interpreted in their natural and intended sense"? There are many obvious reasons why that position should not be taken. For the *ipsissima verba* of the original autographs are not within our reach, and no statement can be made regarding them. There is little use in making affirmations about a hypothetical Bible, when the question is one concerning the actual Bible we have. Have we at present an errorless Bible, and if not, does the existing error (supposed to be existing) destroy the truth of the Bible as a rule of faith and practice? Recognising, then, the existence in our present Bible of difficulties and discrepancies—errors, if one should insist in calling them so—what are we to do with them? Clearly it is no answer to this question to lay down such a rule as that stated by Dr Hodge and Dr Warfield, for they simply affirm a proposition which, in the nature of the case, is incapable of proof.

We turn to Mr Horton for help and guidance, and we do find much to help us. His book is one worthy of himself and of his great theme. It is able, scholarly, reverent. He has read widely and thought deeply on the question. We have on every page proof that he has made himself well acquainted with the facts and the phenomena of Scripture, and the successive chapters in which he deals with particular books of Scripture are of great value. In particular, we have found much to interest and to instruct in those sections which deal with "The Memoirs of Jesus," with "The Pauline Letters," and with "The Johannine Writings." In the chapter called "The Summit of Revelation" there are many things finely said, *e.g.*, "It is necessary to conceive distinctly that the Crown of God's revelation is a Person; and that the continuance of this crowned and perfected revelation is secured by a supernatural operation of God on human hearts, which is very appropriately described as the baptism of the Holy Ghost" (p. 216). While we find much that is wise, good, and helpful in Mr Horton's contribution to this great subject, what are we to say with regard to his general principle? How does he discriminate between what is Revelation and what is not? "Revelation," he tells us, "is that truth which the human mind cannot discover." "Revelation, in the strictest sense of the term, is that body of truth which is made known to man in a special way, because the ordinary methods of discovering truth would not suffice. Broadly speaking, then, the Revelation in the Bible is precisely that which, apart from the Bible, not only would not, but could not, have been known" (p. 9). "When we say that the Bible is a revelation, what exactly do we mean? We mean, not that it is a general encyclopædia of information, a text-book of biology, a primer of physiology,

a synopsis of history, a prophetic forecast of the future, but that it is a compilation of writings through which God is revealed to us, not in a moment of time, but in a historical evolution, not in a few proof texts, but in the whole connected mass of the two literatures of which the book consists" (pp. 12, 13). Mr Horton draws a broad distinction between Revealed truth and other kinds of truth. "Historical truth and Revealed truth are essentially distinct. Historical truth is not *ipso facto* revelation. Revelation is not necessarily historical truth." Scientific fact is not a subject of Revelation. "Scientific Truth and Revealed Truth are essentially different." Mr Horton insists on the distinction, and repeats it until we can have no doubt as to his meaning.

We have, then, to ask, Is this distinction valid? Is it a distinction so real and clear as to make it fit to bear the stress of the burden laid on it by Mr Horton? We observe, in the first place, that Mr Horton always uses the word "truth" when he speaks of Revelation. What is revealed is "truth," according to his statement. Perhaps it is, if we know what he means by truth. But the word itself is ambiguous. It may mean such truth as can be embodied in language, stated in propositions, and embraced in a system. Does Mr Horton mean by "truth" merely that which can be apprehended intellectually? Well, he does not say so, and yet many of his propositions seem to imply it. And yet again, when he says, "Thus they are not far wrong who say that the only thing *revealed* in the Bible is God," he evidently implies that what is revealed is not a truth but a Person. We therefore submit that he ought to have made his meaning more clear, and less ambiguous. Is "truth" the right word to use when we speak of Revelation and of what is revealed? Mr Horton says, "By *Revelation* is meant a truth or truths received from God into the minds of men, not by the ordinary means of inquiry, such as observation and reasoning, but by a direct operation of the Holy Spirit" (p. 4). Now this description is mainly negative, and a negation is not a good foundation on which to build a superstructure.

We ask again, Does not Mr Horton place himself among those described by Dorner? "Many, with too intellectual a tendency, regard instruction as the only purpose of Revelation, either the contents, the truth (which is there usually described as a body of suprarational propositions, 'mysteries'), or certainty. If the former sum up revelation in the repletion of the intelligence with higher truth, the latter sum it up in proof, and both classes honour in Revelation, the means by which certain propositions, known or unknown, are proved: both in a one-sided way put knowledge first" (*System of Christian Doctrine*, Clark's Translation, vol. ii. p. 200). Has not Mr Horton put knowledge first? It would seem so when he speaks

of "truth or truths received from God into the minds of men, not by the ordinary means of inquiry." It would appear also that he sets his readers to accomplish an impossible task. He unconsciously sets us to construct a chart of the extent and limits of human knowledge. Can we say how far the ordinary means of inquiry may lead, and whether what was at one time a matter of revelation, may not be at a different stage of human culture a matter to be reached by the ordinary means of human inquiry? He seems to imply this when he says, "that a truth may have been a startling revelation twenty centuries ago which has become to us a commonplace; it is a very common observation that an original genius is often less appreciated by posterity than might be expected, just because he has been so successful in inoculating subsequent generations with his ideas." If truths of revelation can become "almost a commonplace," is it possible for us to say that it was a truth that could never have been reached by the ordinary means of human inquiry? We submit, then, that the merely negative distinction between what is revelation and what is not is insufficient for the purpose which Mr Horton has in view, that by limiting revelation to the communication of truth he has imparted too intellectual an aspect to it, that he has made it necessary for us to ascertain the extent and limits of human knowledge before we can vindicate the reality of Revelation, and finally, that he has unduly limited the meaning of Revelation.

For what is the relation of the contents of Revelation to historical and scientific truth? Mr Horton tells us on the one hand that "historical truth and revealed truth are essentially distinct," and on the other hand, "God is revealed to us in a historical evolution." It seems difficult to reconcile these two statements. For this historical evolution must have some relation to historical truth. What is that relation, and how are we to maintain the validity of a revelation contained in a historical evolution, if we assert that the two are essentially distinct? If Revelation enters into history it must become historical, and facts of history must become part of Revelation.

But the gravest defect seems to me to be that Mr Horton is constrained to limit the Revelation of God to that special form of it which is contained in the Scriptures, and to that form of truth derived from the Scripture. It is a commonplace to say that nature reveals God, that history reveals God, that the complex facts of human nature, character, and destiny reveal God. What is the relation of these earlier revelations to the Revelation of God which culminates in Christ? By his sharp distinction between scientific truth and revealed truth he takes the former out of the category of Revelation altogether. Now the God of nature is the God of Scripture also. As Butler says, the laws of nature are God acting

uniformly. But the uniformity does not destroy the fact that they are a revelation of God. From the uniform modes of action we may learn something of Him who thus acts. It is true, no doubt, that we get the revelation in Nature and history, and in the life of man, in concrete fashion, in action. We get the facts and we have to make our science. But is it not so in Scripture also? What we have in Scripture is analogous to what we get in Nature and history; we have Divine action. God acts, God speaks, God works for the redemption of man, and works in concrete fashion. As we have to make our science so also have we to make our theology. In neither case do we get a body of ready-made truth. But the question comes back, How are we to distinguish between the manifestation of God in Nature and history, and the manifestation of God as set forth say in Scripture? Mainly in two ways: that in the latter God manifests Himself more personally, more directly, and manifests Himself for the purpose of Redemption. Scriptural Revelation is a form of God's redeeming energy; and in this redeeming work He has revealed Himself in a special way. But the necessary limits of this notice are exhausted. All that can be done here is to refer to the discussions of Rothe and Dorner on this great subject.

The work of Dr Clifford is full of interest and most helpful. He begins with telling us how to study the Bible. He grapples with the difficulties of Inspiration, and tells us of the four ways in which men meet them. Then he tests these four ways by science, and faces the question, If there are errors in the Bible then what and where is its authority? He shows us how Jesus treats the Old Testament, recounts the service of the Old Testament in the making of man, shows us the best defence of the Bible, describes the battle of the Sacred books, and ends with a vivid picture of present-day Inspiration. It is a book which almost disarms criticism; it is so fresh, full, reverent and strong, that we are carried away with it. We quote his description of how the Bible appears to a student of science:—"Again, on the face of the volume, it appears to this student of science that the *Revelation is a history*, a history of God's work in and for men, for their redemption from evil, and participation in His holiness. The truth is *acted* rather than spoken. The light shines in elect souls. The Divine mind is manifested in the faith and failure, aspirations and sufferings, discipline and prayers of a God-led and God-governed people; and the ever-broadening revelation partakes of the vicissitudes of their manifold life. They vary, and so does the interest, and meaning, and power of the story. Sometimes they are on the heights of transfiguration, and the blaze of inspiration fairly dazzles the beholder with its

supernal glory: but again, they are in the valley, defeated by the gathering demons, and the record being historically accurate, the inspiration is painfully low. The Book of Esther is not cast in the same mould as the Gospel of Luke. Ecclesiastes is unspeakably inferior to the First Epistle of John. One is a cowardly moan, the other is a confident and piercing soldier-summons to battle for truth and life." Such is Dr Clifford's description of one of the ways in which men look at the Bible. We have quoted it, because of its felicity of expression and because of the accuracy of its description. We quote one other bit, because it conveys a needed warning. "The web of history is woven of one piece: it reflects the unity of the human life, of which it is the record: we cannot isolate any group of facts and consider that no links of causation connect them with their predecessors or their contemporaries. Again, how confusing is the division of life into 'spiritual and secular,' and into what fearful misjudgment it leads us. Nor is the mischief less which so completely detaches the Bible, not only from the sacred books of the world, but from all other literature, as to preclude the incalculable gains which proceed from the scientific method in the investigation of its history and contents, purposes and achievements." The merit of these two books lies in the attempt made in them to grasp the facts and phenomena of Scripture, and to allow them to have their due weight in the formation of opinion. The authors do not lay down at the outset the marks of a book which contains a revelation from God; they set to themselves the humbler and more profitable task of studying the book which God has actually given to us. On the whole, they amply and satisfactorily vindicate the authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures to guide men into the way of life.

Herr Hegler, who is a Privatdocent at Tübingen, and, we think, the author of a work on "The Psychology in the Ethics of Kant," has given us a competent and worthy study of that interesting historical character Sebastian Franck. It is one of those monographs of which we get so many from Germany. The historical situation is vividly set forth: the writings of Sebastian Franck have been profoundly studied; the influences which moulded him, his personal characteristics, and his literary quality are described in masterly fashion. We have a picturesque account of what Herr Hegler calls the Radical Reform movement of the time of the Reformation, and of Franck's place in it. He traces the process of Franck's development, and shows how he was led to separate himself from the Protestant Church. The first occasion was given by the controversy between Luther and Erasmus concerning Free-will. This controversy revealed a radical difference between the mere religious and the mere

literary elements within the Reformation. The Peasant war and the action of the Princes gave another impulse to the divergence between the leaders of the Reformation and Franck; and a third cause was the controversy between the Lutheran and the Swiss Reformers regarding the Lord's Supper; and a fourth cause was that Franck thought that the stress laid in preaching on Justification by faith alone tended to lower the standard of moral living. Franck found himself separated from the Protestant Church. He held that the cause of all the errors he ascribed to the Church lay in the position she assigned to the Scriptures.

Franck set himself to construct a true doctrine of the Scripture, and in the work before us we have a most interesting account of his views. Franck held that the Scriptures were not used rightly, that from their very nature they could not be the highest standard of authority, that there were errors and discrepancies in them, and that God had purposely furnished the Scriptures with contradictions in order that we may be impelled deeper into the Scriptures and out of them back again to Him and into the Spirit. But there is, Franck thought, an Inner word, of which the Scriptures are only the shell, cradle, lantern, veil, &c.; he uses many metaphors to set forth this distinction. The Inner word is a Divine power. We have no space to unfold his doctrine of the Divine word, and its relation to God; but the exposition of it by Herr Hegler is worthy of study. But the Divine word, as transcendent and as Divine power, also is a human possession; and man has a natural capacity for the reception of the Divine word. Thus we are led into a psychological discussion which has its value. Then follow chapters in which are set forth the Spirit as the Principle of religious and moral renewal; the revelation of God in Christ and beyond Christ; and the Spirit as the meaning of Scripture. Finally Herr Hegler uses the Spiritualism of Franck as the principle whereby he is to criticise Religion in the past and in the present. Such is an outline of the able work before us. It is a worthy study, and may be useful in the crisis to which we have come. For there may be elements which we have overlooked, and which ought to be taken into account ere our doctrine of Scripture can be said to be complete. Some of these we may get from a study of Franck. But his main contention is one which is not helpful. It is too mystic, has a touch of Pantheism in it, takes but little account of sin, has no conception of grace, and generally, it contradicts both the consciousness of the natural man and the evangelical consciousness of the renewed man.

JAMES IVERACH.

Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert

Von Eduard Reuss; herausgegeben aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Lic. Erichson und Pfarrer Lic. Horst; Erster Band. Allgemeine Einleitung zur Bibel. Ueberblick der Geschichte der Israeliten. Die Geschichtsbücher, Richter, Samuelis, und Könige. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 389. Price M. 6.50.

It is possible to look back upon the career of Reuss with the same sense of restful satisfaction that has been felt with regard to Tennyson. In both cases the life-work was finished, and the latest of a long series of productions showed the veteran still wielding the powers of maturity. Kuenen says of him: "In the lecture-rooms of Strassburg, then, we might look, in no small measure, for the ultimate source of Graf's and Kayser's inspiration, and Reuss had the satisfaction of seeing the views he had enunciated in his youth taken up and elaborated by his distinguished pupils, and commanding ever-increasing assent as he incorporated them, matured and consolidated into the works of his old age." The works Kuenen refers to are "*La Bible*," and "*Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*;" to these may now be added the present work.

The preface tells us that after the completion of the similar work in French, Reuss devoted his energies to this German edition of the Bible, which was to make the results of a century of growth in theological knowledge accessible to the general public. At his death the translation, &c., of the Old Testament was ready for the press. The present volume, containing nearly 400 large octavo pages, is the first of seven; the complete work will deal not only with the Old Testament, but also with the Apocrypha, and is to be finished in 1894. Each volume contains a group or class of books, and the arrangement clearly indicates the views of the author. Nothing can well be more significant of the revolution that has taken place in Old Testament Criticism than the publication of an edition in which the *first* volume is "the Historical Books (Judges, Samuel, and Kings)"; the *second*, the "Prophets"; the *third*, "Sacred History and Law (Pentateuch and Joshua)," &c., &c. This first volume contains—A General Introduction to the Bible, A Review of the History, from the Conquest to the Fall of Jerusalem, and the three historical books, with special introduction to each. It is popular in character, giving results for the most part briefly and firmly, without discussion, citation of authorities, or use

of technical terms. The student will be much helped by finding that the instances in which data are insufficient to lead to a certain conclusion are frankly recognised, *e.g.*, the origin of the concluding chapters of 2 Samuel. Possibly, however, in some cases the desire to be cautious has led to a slight vagueness. As the first part of a large and comprehensive work, this volume was probably finished some time since, and has not received the final revision of the author. This will account for some of the omissions which will be noticed below.

The general introduction is a very short sketch in thirty-two pages of the History of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments, the latter part of which is virtually an abstract of the author's larger work on the Canon in the Christian Church. The formation is traced through the stages of Law, Prophets, Psalms, and Hagiographa, the members of the latter class not being fixed beyond controversy at the beginning of the second century A.D. It is not clear whether Reuss would still adhere to his position that the Canon was not *practically* closed in the time of Josephus, as against Buhl and Ryle. In the concluding part of this section we have a lucid sketch of the progress of religious thought in regard to the Bible. Special stress is laid on the difficulties of the Reformed doctrine that the Bible is the seat of authority, and it is shown how this opened the door to the rigid and unspiritual theology of the eighteenth century from which we are now recovering. He contrasts the old and new attitude towards the Bible thus: to the old theology the aggregate of biblical ideas was a collection of oracular utterances, to the new theology, the series of scenes of a magnificent spiritual drama. Briefly discussing the use which is to be made in popular teaching of modern critical results, he maintains that the change of position from the traditional to the historical is nothing but gain, and that "the Hebrew literature shines forth in clearer splendour from the night of heathen antiquity, when its light is no longer obliged to pierce the theological cloud." In these few pages there is very much that is most helpful and inspiring, but our space does not admit of more than the instances given above.

The next fifty-seven pages contain an equally brief and compact sketch of the history from the Conquest to the Fall of Jerusalem; about half the space devoted to the same subject by Wellhausen in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." The sketch is for the most part general, dealing with principles and tendencies, giving a philosophy of the history, and eschewing as far as possible details of time and place and person. First, there is the period of the heroes ending with Saul; the history begins with the Conquest, apparently because there is no history before the Conquest. The discussion of this point is, however, reserved for the special introduction to the

Pentateuch. This is an instance of a somewhat irritating feature in this section. Reuss is evidently anxious to avoid anticipating the introductions of the later volumes. His sketch of the history necessarily involves some notice of the origins of Hebrew literature. But Reuss virtually declines to state here his views on some of the leading controversies of literature and history,—*e.g.*, the Psalter and the origin of Prophecy,—because they are treated later on. The student, however, would have found this conspectus a useful guide to his further reading of the book, if the main results to be afterwards established had been briefly stated. We may note with regard to this first period that it is questionable whether in view of recent archæological discoveries we can still say that Jerusalem was so named by David. The second period, extending to the close of the monarchy, is that of the Prophets. We may note two points on which Reuss insists,—*viz.*, that the religious and political importance of the Northern Kingdom was much greater than that assigned to it by the Judean books of Kings and Chronicles; and that after the captivities both of Israel and Judah a very large proportion of the poorer people was left behind; or, in other words, in each case it was not the nation but the *élite* of the nation that was carried into captivity. We doubt if Reuss makes sufficient allowance for the successive captivities and the repeated devastations of the country. The third period which extends to the re-dedication of the Temple in 164 is that of the Priests. The final period is that of the Scribes. This sketch of the history again is lucid and suggestive, and forms, with the exception mentioned above, a clear and useful summary of recent results.

In the introductions to the separate books, Reuss gives an analysis of the same general character as those adopted by Budde, Kautzsch, Cornill, and Driver, but it is less definite and detailed. The most striking omission is the absence of any attempt to connect the sources of these books with the documents of the Hexateuch. On the other hand we have a very clear and interesting argument to show that our present Book of Judges combines in its chronology two independent systems, each of which worked on the theory of 1 Kings vi. 1, that twelve generations occupied the interval from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple. We may also note the following: the Song of Deborah dates from the twelfth century at the latest; the Books of Samuel and Kings are two originally distinct works, belonging to different periods and edited on different principles; the elegy on Saul and Jonathan is a genuine poem of David (so most critics); the Book of Samuel is older than the Book of Judges.

The translation and notes occupy about two-thirds of the book, the notes are brief and pointed, and do not occupy more than about

the same space as the translation, but are in smaller type. The main sections of the books, as given by the analysis, are separated by lines; but Reuss does not follow many modern editions in indicating the details of the analysis by different type. It is only rarely that the translation departs from the Massoretic text, important variants are mostly given in the notes. Many of the notes, however, are evidently specially intended for popular readers, and are such as the advanced Bible student could easily supply for himself. The various poems in these books are arranged in lines and stanzas, and some of them translated into German verse of a suitable character, a literal translation being sacrificed to the necessities of rhythm,—*e.g.*, the utterance of the rough hero Samson, Jud. xv. 16:

" Mit des Esels Backenknochen
Hier ein Pack und dort ein Haufen
Mit des Esels Backenknochen
Mach' ich tausend Philister laufen."

No attempt, however, is made to imitate the striking word-play of the Hebrew:

haḥāmôr ḥāmôr ḥāmôrāthāyim.

Our space will only admit of a few references to details in the translation. "Appearances of Yahweh" for "Malakh Yahweh" gives quite a wrong impression. In Jud. vi. 26 "fence" (Umzämun) for *Ma'ārākhâ* (R. V. "in the orderly manner") is virtually equivalent to Bertheau's "Bastion." In 1 Sam. xv. 29, Agag comes "cheerfully" (gutes Mutes) as in R. V. The passage, 2 Sam. v. 7, about the blind and lame at the capture of Jebus is "corrupt beyond restoration." In 2 Sam. xii. 31 the note mentions with a ? an unnecessary and improbable aggravation of David's conduct to the Ammonites, viz., that he put them under the saw and the harrows as a sacrifice to their own false gods. We miss in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6 any reference to the probable emendation "land of the Hittites unto Kadesh" for "land of Tahtim-hodshi." In 2 Kings xxiii. 5. *Mazzâlôth* (R. V. planets) is rendered as R. V. mg "Signs of the Zodiac." Doubtless these few specimens will encourage students to refer to the volume for renderings of other difficult passages. This work will be welcome to German Bible-readers as a compact exposition by a leading critic on the lines of modern Bible-study. It will be valued in England for its own sake and for the sake of its author, and the appearance of the remaining volumes will be awaited with much interest.

W. H. BENNETT.

La Morale de Spinoza.

Examen de ses principes et de l'influence qu'elle a exercée dans les temps modernes, par René Worms: Paris, Hachette. 12mo, pp. 334. Price F.3.50.

THIS volume opens with the assertion that Spinoza derived his moral teaching from the Jewish religion. "The metaphysics of Judaism," says M. Worms, "are contained in a single phrase, 'God exists, he is one; and he is great': all its ethics may be summed up in a word, 'obedience to God.'" But Spinoza was not only a pupil of the Rabbis, he was also a disciple of Descartes; and while Descartes developed no system of morals, the germ of an ethical system undoubtedly lies in many passages of his works—notably in his letters to the Princess Elizabeth, and to Queen Christina. The rôle of Spinoza—who, in all his reasoning, pushed logical deduction from Cartesian principles further than his master—was essentially to construct a scientific morality. He owed the idea of this to Judaism, and the form to Descartes. The love of God, and the blessedness of man, are the gifts of Judaism; but the orderly reasoned argument, which characterises the *Ethics*, came from Descartes. To bring these differing elements together needed the powerful mind of Spinoza, and in that synthesis lay the inspiration and the originality of his work.

Not only, however, did he understand "la vie morale," but he lived and practised it. M. Worms gives a short but interesting resumé of the facts of Spinoza's life, and of its great crisis, when he realized that "the things which are seen are temporal," and that the supreme aim of life must be the infinite and eternal good; in other words, when he saw that he must quit the uncertain and the perishable, that the struggle for pleasure, fortune, honours, with their resultant quarrels and hatred, their sorrow and pain of mind, must be abandoned. Spinoza's life and labours are traced by M. Worms with sympathetic appreciation; while a parallel, and at the same time a contrast, is drawn between Spinoza and Pascal. Both passed through a moral crisis by an act of faith, and a cry of hope to the Eternal. But whereas Pascal taught asceticism, Spinoza inculcated a full and a free life. While Pascal dreamt of death, Spinoza taught that wisdom lay in a meditation of life. Pascal secluded himself in the contemplation of an immutable and terrible God, the soul of Spinoza expanded in admiration of a living and joyous universe; Pascal turned his eyes to the past, Spinoza to the future (p. 22).

After a somewhat rhapsodical introduction, a criticism of Spinoza's

"Morale" follows. To relate his life, says M. Worms, is to define his work. The search for the chief good for others, and for himself, was his sole aim. All his writings, from the *De Emendatione* onward, tend to the same conclusion. Nothing is more certain to ensure happiness than that man should know the true method whereby he may arrive at scientific facts. Many political and theological treatises had been written for this purpose; and when Spinoza condensed his ideas on the nature of God and the soul into one work, it was because he believed that speculative knowledge was indispensable as a guide to conduct and action. This work, in which the moral part of the teaching is the strongest and best, he calls *Ethics*. Its first two books are devoted to the metaphysical problem, the three last to the moral; and he expressly declares that the consideration of the former is solely for the better understanding of the latter, viz., the knowledge of the soul, and its chief good. Whereas metaphysics, mechanics, and medicine were placed by Descartes in the same rank as ethics, to Spinoza they were its humble servants.

Most philosophers distinguish between three classes of ideas, (1) logical, such as bare concepts, and mathematical ideas; (2) physical, ideas of tangible objects; (3) moral, ideas of the good and the beautiful (which possess the perfection of the first, and the reality of the second). Hence ensue three kinds of knowledge, deductive, experimental, and intuitive. M. Worms is of opinion that one of the fundamental ideas of Spinozism is the negation of any profound difference between these three kinds of knowledge. To Spinoza, all that is conceivable is real; and all that is real—in the measure in which it is real—is perfect. A remarkable passage bearing on this will be found in the preamble to the third book of the *Ethics*. Spinoza's doctrine of the will (which, as a part of Nature, is amenable to inflexible laws) is set forth by M. Worms with much clearness, and he points out that Spinoza's method, being identical with that of mathematics or geometry, all oratorical digression, or purely critical reflection on the ordinary conduct of mankind, is conspicuous by its absence from the *Ethics*. Praise or blame do not exist for him, but only the law which regulates moral action; and he quotes a memorable saying from Spinoza's Introduction to the *Tractatus*, that he is careful not to turn the actions of humanity into derision,—neither to pity nor to hate—but only to *understand*.

Again and again M. Worms emphasises the indebtedness of Spinoza, both to the rationalism of Descartes, and to the theology of the Jews. With Descartes he affirms that all that which the understanding can "clearly and distinctly" conceive is true; but, whereas extension and thought have a real existence—and yet are

so radically different that one cannot conceive reciprocal action between them—neither body can move spirit, nor spirit move body. Experience nevertheless shews that there is a bond between them, and a parallelism in their developments. This bond, says Spinoza, is not in themselves, but in God.

But the God of Spinoza is not the God of theology,—personal, intelligent, wise, and good—not the God in whose image man is made. “The intelligence and will of God,” says Spinoza, “are as different from those of man, as the dog-star is different from the dog.” The God of Spinoza is, at the same time, *essence*, the infinite and eternal substance. He has an infinity of attributes of which we know but two—viz., extension and thought; and these we know, not in their infinity, but only in the finite modes in which they subsist. How then and why does the divine substance thus modify itself? Simply because such modification is inherent in its nature, and it cannot do otherwise. Thus both the existence and the action of God are necessary, and are an absolute necessity, or (as Leibnitz would say) geometrical. It follows that all things are necessary, because all things are modes of God. The workings of the human soul are necessary, and it is a chimera to believe that by supposed free action, man can break the chain of determinism and escape the universal law.

In Spinoza's system God is in all things, and all things are in God; but God is an independent reality, while the modes of existence are not. The universal is logically sufficient in itself, to itself, and for itself; but the law of its being is to produce the individual; and so the individual only exists while it possesses, and represents, the universal. There is no doubt that Spinoza denied free-will to man. Man, it is true, imagines that he possesses certain faculties, which are powers both of understanding and of action. He believes these faculties to have an independent existence, and names them reason and will.

How is this? How is it that men, acting from necessity, believe themselves to be free? It is because they ignore the cause that determines them. Incomplete knowledge of their surroundings, and of their action, produces this belief. This incomplete knowledge Spinoza calls Imagination. The illusion is, however, produced of necessity: a limited intelligence is condemned to error. A falling stone, could it think, would believe it fell freely, or of its own good pleasure. Thus, while man boasts of his liberty, he is really the thrall of circumstance. This conflict we recognise when we say that we would keep silence, but are forced to speak.

The whole of M. Worms' chapter treating of Spinoza's doctrine of the Will may be described as a vigorous and lucid treatment of a profound subject. Whether it is equally valuable to scholars as to

the ordinary reader may be doubted ; but the precision with which it treats the subject of the Will makes this volume an acquisition to those numerous readers who, without being profoundly speculative, enjoy an easily comprehended presentation of great thoughts. M. Worms proceeds to note an observation often made—viz., that, when we are most conscious of the motives of our actions, we most thoroughly believe ourselves to be free ; and that, when we reason out our acts, we feel most completely master of them ; a psychological fact that, in his opinion, does not militate against the determinism of Spinoza. On the contrary, it coincides with the theory of the *Ethics*, that liberty consists not in independence of all motive, but in an inner determinism ; for it is natural to believe one's self free, when one is determined to act by motives clearly conceived.

There is no doubt that, as M. Worms says, Spinoza desired to reconcile responsibility with determinism. If man be not free, it may be said, why punish him for evil conduct ? To which Spinoza answers : " If evil and good are produced of necessity, and not of free will, does that make good less desirable, or evil less reprehensible ? Not at all. We have the right to kill a reptile that injures us, although it acts unconsciously ; and so, in like manner, Society has a right to remove the criminal." That it has the power is evident, but has it the right, you ask ? Yes, says Spinoza, but punishment would do better could it *prevent* evil. Imagined punishment, he thought, would act upon the evil-doer as a deterrent, before he committed the crime, and prevent the commission. Free or not free, it is fear and hope that influence our actions. But may we not argue, in strict justice, that the condemned is not deserving of punishment ; he is to be excused, for he is not the author of his own being, nor of his action ; but God, or the Divine Substance, which, by the laws of his development, caused him thus to act. Not at all, replies Spinoza, we are inexcusable, because we are in His hands, as clay in the hands of the potter. We have no more the right to accuse God because He has given us a weak nature and a powerless spirit, than the triangle has a right to complain that it has not the properties of the square ; for, in the one case as in the other, God has acted of necessity.

In a lucid and direct manner M. Worms expounds Spinoza's theory that evil is an incomplete development of life—not the privation of good, or of life—but only an inferior existence, a lesser good. Supreme good and supreme virtue are alike the knowledge of God. God loves man, and this love is the source of our happiness ; for, with an infinity of love, God must love Himself and His "modes." But how does God love Himself, in a system which denies Him passion and even consciousness ? Spinoza

helplessly replies, "God, as all other things, tends to persist in his being."

Quoting largely from the Fifth Part of the *Ethics*, M. Worms criticises what he considers its author's curious theory of immortality. He comments on the assertion of some critics that Spinoza retained a belief in immortality to avoid persecution, and on the belief of others that this theory is an unintentional inconsequence. He mentions a more appreciative criticism, which, however, he also rejects. If in life the individual has known no other joys than those of sense, extinction alone is possible to him; if, on the other hand, he has sought his chief good in the absolute and eternal essence of things,—if he has realised in his consciousness a clear conception of infinite and perfect being,—if in this life he has risen to a higher one, viz., to the knowledge and the love of God,—then it is just that such a man should enter into the better part of himself, and exist eternally. This interpretation of Spinoza's position is also put aside by M. Worms, who says that the immortality of Spinoza is quite impersonal. What will remain after death is not consciousness, but idea. The human soul is not a substance always identically the same; it is composed of ideas which are modes of the infinite thought, united during the life of the individual, but dissociated at his death. What is debased dies; what is great and fertile lives, and inspires future generations. Thus losing in death all consciousness, all individuality, we are immortal by our works, immortal in our race. It is a wholly impersonal immortality that he admits.

The second part of M. Worms' book deals very fully with the influence of the philosophy of Spinoza in various countries, and with its remarkable *renaissance* at present in Germany. The following passage is worthy of note:—"De tous les penseurs modernes, Spinoza était le seul qui pût répondre au double besoin de l'esprit germanique; Descartes était peut-être à la fois trop clair dans la forme et trop peu décidé au fond pour satisfaire l'esprit à la fois nébuleux et systématique des Allemands; Berkeley était un métaphysicien plus subtil et plus conséquent, mais trop entaché de christianisme aux jeux de ces philosophes libres penseurs; il ne restait donc que Spinoza, qui unit à la hardiesse la profondeur, et c'était lui par conséquent qui était tout désigné pour devenir le Dieu de la nouvelle école" (p. 270).

There is also an interesting remark, in the chapter on England in the nineteenth century, to the effect that it is through these German philosophical writers that Mr Herbert Spencer owes—unknown, doubtless, to himself—a debt to Spinoza.

Although it cannot be described as a specially new or original criticism, there is much to praise in this book of M. Worms.

Perhaps its chief merit is a quality of which Spinoza himself would have approved, viz., that throughout it is, in a high degree, "clear and distinct."

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

A History of Æsthetic.

By Bernard Bosanquet, M.A. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Glasgow). London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. 502. Price 10s. 6d.

OF the score of books now announced by Mr J. H. Muirhead to be included in "The Library of Philosophy," the majority have the field to themselves in English; and this, the third of the issue, is one of them, for Professor Knight's very useful handbook has a different intention. As we should expect, Mr Bosanquet's History is as far as possible from being a chronicle of opinion; it is a history of the elements that determine the present state of æsthetic doctrine. You cannot turn to its pages and find a summary of the work of any "æsthetician." You will find what he said that had not been said in the same way before, why he had to say it, and what is the value of it. "I have regarded my task," the preface reads, "as the history of æsthetic, and not as the history of æstheticians. I have not paid much attention to the claims of historical justice." So native writers come off with about a twentieth part of the five hundred pages. But Mr Knight gives them a good third.

A historian of æsthetic is never in want of variety, and, if he takes a fairly coherent plan, the reader does not much object to taking a somewhat longer road than he finds the conclusion to require. Mr Bosanquet's plan is fairly clear. The history of æsthetic—of "the analysis of the æsthetic consciousness"—concerns itself with two moments of progress. In the first place, the analysis of an æsthetic consciousness of any given sort has a history, like every interpretation in philosophy; in the second place, the æsthetic consciousness has itself had a history. There is a history of what beauty is, and a history of what is felt to be beautiful. The real question is the former, but it has to wait for a definite answer on the answers that are given to the other. At the outset of the book we have an abstract definition of beauty, and the rest of the book may be fairly described as giving the progress of this definition to definiteness, concreteness, or truth. But this progress required a development of the æsthetic consciousness itself, for æsthetic is made to wait on the artist to give it a world to explain. And then this

development of the æsthetic consciousness is traced to forces which are——what are they not, when the means for developing the feeling of beauty are given by every new idea in religion and philosophy, and every advance in moral and social welfare? Add the gradual discovery of the means of artistic expression in each of the arts, the reason for the development of particular arts at particular times, the degree of appreciation of art-products already existing, and some idea may be had of what Mr Bosanquet sets down merely as the basis upon which his philosophic structure is to be raised. It would obviously be absurd to talk of omissions, and we do not object to an author being thorough; but it will be readily understood how the main road of the book often seems lost in the description of a country for it to travel through.

And the development of art-production and of æsthetic consciousness is, as we have said, only one element in the development of theories of beauty. A historian of æsthetic has also to encounter the difficulty that meets the historian of any particular department of philosophy; he must treat it by reference to the doctrines held by the several writers upon, at least, the theory of knowledge. That is the only legitimate ground of exposition and criticism, and it is given to few to make it clear and adequate, and at the same time subordinate to its purpose. Mr Bosanquet seems to have succeeded within his limits—and certainly in the method he has adopted for showing the development of the æsthetic problem in Greece, and in his introduction to Kant's Critique of Judgment.

All that variety of influence acting upon the æsthetic consciousness, and this necessity of occupying the points of view from which the several writers looked at beauty, demand a unifying principle to give coherence to the narrative. For this the historian must have an æsthetic system of his own,—at any rate, the logical conditions of a system,—and he must set the problems that comprise it to each author in turn. Then, if the story is to have progress as well as coherence, it is necessary to distinguish essence from accident. In all his work Mr Bosanquet gives one the impression of carrying out a mission, and here he mixes himself with every page. We take exception to the piece-meal way in which his criticism is carried out, but his general method is the logical one, and the best for mastering the heterogeneous elements of the story. It is, as we have indicated, to represent the whole history as a progressive determination of the definition of beauty.

In the first chapter he defines the beautiful as "That which has characteristic or individual expressiveness for sense-perception or imagination, subject to the conditions of general or abstract expressiveness in the same medium." Or, extending the word "characteristic" to embrace what he calls abstract expressiveness—the

formal element of unity in variety,—we have the definition of beauty given as “the characteristic in as far as expressed for sense-perception or for imagination.” If one objected that this is so vague as to be nearly meaningless, Mr Bosanquet would no doubt reply that that is its virtue, that it says all that can be said without introducing ideas which did not form part of the concept for early writers. But the “intelligent lovers of beauty” referred to in the Preface must find it sufficiently repellent to be offered a definition like this at the outset. It is not a definition of beauty, but at most the first factor or predicate of a definition, and saying as nearly as possible nothing,—nothing, we mean, to distinguish the notion from any other with which it may be confounded. For the same thing can be said of the comic and the sublime. Mr Bosanquet may very well mean the term beauty to cover these, but is it to cover what is ugly too? It certainly applies to a large part of what is ordinarily called ugly, and it does not exclude on the face of it even real ugliness,—“positive negation or falsehood aspiring to the place of beauty” (p. 397). Finally, we should suggest that “æsthetic quality” and not “beauty” is the term defined, were it not obvious that the definition is true of all sense-perception. Mr Bosanquet says in his *Logic* (vol. ii. p. 233): “an æsthetic whole is, so to speak, a universal made easy,” using the term æsthetic in the same sense as in his *History*. The definition we have quoted above really says no more, and of course it is true of all percepts that they are universals made easy.

All reference to pleasure is excluded from the definition, and almost indeed from the whole volume. Beauty is treated in the same manner as truth and right, which don't wait to be truth and right till they are recognised by this one or that. And rightly, we think. At the same time, the individuality of the artist and the observer is much more prominent here than in knowledge or even in practice. It is not so easy to mistake truth and right as to mistake beauty. That is because one's feeling for form, colour, rhythm, harmony is so little modifiable. We do not object that Mr Bosanquet neglects individuality in this sense of idiosyncrasy,—even though there are national idiosyncrasies. But we do fail to see that he has succeeded, any more than others, in identifying the explanation of the two “characteristics” of his longer definition. There, and in his treatment of “exact æsthetic,” he seems to explain the feeling for rhythm, form, and the rest, as he explains the feeling for the content of the poem or picture. Of course Mr Bosanquet would agree that, just as a man may understand the laws of optics without being able to see, and may know the right without doing it, so he may understand the principles of æsthetic and have but a poor feeling for beauty. But what we maintain is that the element

wanting in this last case is, like the want of eye and will, quite a different affair from the thing he possesses. An artist does not recognise the reason of the delight he takes in the "infinite" shading of the sky at night-fall, when he is told that it is due to his feeling of "delightful horror," or any other, for what is infinite. It is notorious that people with equal appreciation of music read different ideas and emotions into the same piece. Is it a contradiction to say that an exquisite poem may have "nothing in it"? And how are we to interpret the different æsthetic values of simple tones and colours? In all these cases, even the last, it is possible to point out how they may be media for expressing an ideal content, but they are felt to have beauty before it is read into them, and the content is then read and felt as an addition to it. We do not say, of course, that the connexion between form and content is as arbitrary as that between words and their meaning; formal beauty is not indifferent to the content it may be made to express, now it has become, so to say, the mother tongue of our race. But it is too soon to infer that this language has been formed on the principle of onomatopœia.

Mr Bosanquet's view of the relation of æsthetic to art—of theory to practice—is eminently sane, not merely by way of opinion but as a historical inference. At the outset he turns away the wrath of the artist by disclaiming the "impertinence" of setting up as his critic. "The æsthetic theorist desires to understand the artist, not in order to interfere with the latter, but in order to satisfy an intellectual interest of his own." The view is not so simple as it looks; we cannot take artists and try to understand their works, as we take the laws of nature and theirs. If æsthetic does not interfere with the artist after it has found him, it interferes to find him. We do not see that the disclaimer means more than an honest intention to avoid the traditional errors; no science accepts its matter without verification. But the intention is everything, if we reflect that it has been the habit of æsthetic to think itself complete, and so turn itself upon the artist. Æsthetic criticism has developed by the revolt of art against it. As we should expect from Mr Bosanquet, the story of the revolt is as prominent in his *History* as the continuity of the principles that overcame it by assuming its force. The development of æsthetic from Socrates to Plotinus is in the main a development from within the science itself. We have already remarked on the clearness of these chapters. But it is different when the story is told of the forms in which the romantic spirit expresses itself. The limitations imposed by the traditional æsthetic died hard; it is not so very long since the *Edinburgh Review* declared the forms of verse to have been fixed like the canon of scripture, not to be added to nor subtracted

from. Nowadays, "the soul has won its intellectual liberty, and with it an infinite capacity for making mistakes, and this it will never surrender" (468). It is genius, not æsthetic, which must be left to mediate between idea and form. "The man as he is when his nature is at one with itself, or, as Schiller says, when he is at play, is the needed middle term between content and expression" (457); and genius is "the peculiar endowment by which the rational content is given in a state of active and productive feeling" (453). And so, to Mr Bosanquet, æsthetic resigns the rôle of prescribing, and, becoming a social reformer for its own sake, demands that the workman, the real artist, be set free to undertake the burden. "Never," says Mr Morris, "till our own day has an ugly or stupid glass vessel been made." In the happy time to come æsthetic will have its world of beauty given to it like nature to sense, and will be able to demit the invidious business of criticising the artist, and confine itself to the pleasant one of understanding him. It is a pious opinion.

But having made these objections we would the more emphatically express our gratitude to Mr Bosanquet for undertaking so desirable, so difficult, and, at the same time we fear, so thankless a task, and for executing it so thoroughly. Our strongest objection, indeed, is that the book is written in a language that few care to encounter, so that it will not have so many readers as it deserves. Mr Bosanquet seems to say that he cannot write in a more popular style; we could convince him to the contrary out of his own mouth. It is his method that is at fault. On every page, and often in a single sentence, we have exposition, alternative meanings, historical comparisons, all packed together and tied with criticism and considerations. In this matter the reader is probably a better judge than the author, and we are confident that nothing is so much wanting to make the book attractive as an explanatory and constructive chapter on æsthetic at the outset, to take the place of the piece-meal argumentation that is everywhere scattered about. But, in any case, it is certain that, for many a day to come, our writers on æsthetic will warmly acknowledge their indebtedness to it.

W. MITCHELL.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien.

Textkritische und Quellenkritische Grundlegungen von Alfred Resch. Texte und Untersuchungen herausgegeben von O. v. Gebhardt und A. Harnack. X. Band. Heft 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 160. Price M.5.

DR RESCH is already favourably known to English readers through Dr Sanday's valuable articles in the *Expositor* of 1891 (Feb.-June) as one of the most laborious even of German scholars. He has traversed, perhaps more minutely than any other one man, the entire field of early Christian literature; and this, with the constant design of discovering indications of quotation from the New Testament Scriptures, and especially from our four Gospels. His investigations have led him, as he believes, to many important results, of which two claim attention at the outset. 1. That there are in the writings of the early Fathers many more sayings than had hitherto been noticed, which are ascribed to the Lord Jesus, but which do not occur in the Canonical Gospels. These Dr Resch has already published, under the title of *Agrapha: extra-canonical fragments of the Gospel*. 2. That there was a Semitic Gospel, written before our present Gospels, of which the *Agrapha* formed part: that this was made use of by the three Synoptists in the form of a Greek translation: in this Greek form circulated extensively in the primitive Church, and is repeatedly quoted in early Church literature. The small volume now before us is the introductory section of a much larger work to be entitled *Extra-canonical parallel-texts to the Gospels*, and is devoted to the statement of facts or theories, which the further work is designed, as I believe, to illustrate and establish.

The first chapter is devoted to the New Testament Canon, which, inasmuch as it is "a Church-book," "the ripe product of ecclesiastical tradition" is, "notwithstanding its great dignity," a legitimate object of criticism. This "right" has been exercised by the Church at three periods. 1. In the early Church, when the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament were excluded from the first rank of canonicity; and when several works by Christian authors which had circulated widely and had been highly esteemed in the second century, were left out of the Canon entirely. 2. In the Reformation period, when, from theological motives, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistles of James and Jude, the Second Epistle of Peter, and the Apocalypse were relegated to a deuterocanonical rank, *i.e.*, while permitted to be used in the Lutheran Church for practical purposes,

were not admitted for the purposes of dogmatic Theology, as a *norma normans* of the Church's creed. Dr Resch rightly regards this as "a fatal step" taken by Luther and his followers. 3. The third period was opened by F. C. Baur, who initiated the Historical Method. This must, in Dr Resch's esteem, ever be admitted to be Baur's great merit, though "his solution of the problem was one-sided, and his reconstruction of primitive Christianity faulty."

Chapter II. takes up the subject of the Canon of the Gospels, and directs attention to three stages in its formation. 1. The collection of our present Gospels into a fourfold unity—τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, or as Resch calls it, the Archetype. 2. The attainment of paramount authority by our present Gospels, to the exclusion of the many previous records of Christ's words and deeds which had circulated in the Church. 3. The fixing and final purifying of the "text" of the Canonical Gospels.

In Chapter III., which is entitled "Canonical and Extra-Canonical Texts," Dr Resch undertakes to dispel the dense darkness in which even the early Church authors "groped, in reference to the origin, the further development, and the final redaction of the canonical text of the New Testament." We are again asked to distinguish *three epochs*: 1. In the former half of the second century, when the hypothetical author of the Archetypal Gospel collected the four Gospels to a unity, and in doing so introduced sundry alterations into the text. 2. In the former half of the third century, when a recension took place, under Origen as prime-mover. 3. At the time of the final fixing of the Canon in the opening years of the fourth century, when the third and final recension of the text took place. In an obscure passage in Jerome this is associated with the names of Lucius and Hesychius, but incorrectly so. In this connection Dr Resch advocates the claims of Codex Bezae, and assigns to its text an antiquity and authority which will certainly not be allowed to pass without challenge. He is of opinion that we have not near so original a text in A, B, \aleph , as in D; and though not prepared to go so far as de Lagarde, who called the "recensio" of the text attested in A B a "contaminatio"; and the redactors "falsifiers" (for Resch considers that there were wise and justifiable reasons for making the alterations which appear in "the canonical text" of A B), yet our author has no hesitancy in affirming that every Greek uncial, except D, bears constant marks of the work of the διασκευασταὶ ὁρθόδοξοι; in other words, that Codex D is our most reliable authority for arriving at the readings of the original autographs of the Gospels.

In chapter IV. we have Dr Resch's views as to the history of Codex D. He admits that in its present form the MS. belongs to the sixth century, but as some Cursives present us with an ancient

text, so it is with the important Codex before us. In this connection Dr Resch is more sparing than one could wish with his *proofs*. "Assertions" abound, many of them startling, and foreign to our usual conceptions, but for the "proofs" I suppose we must wait for the appearance of the volume to which the one before us is the Introduction. But in a work devoted to "foundation-laying" one might have reasonably expected an array of evidence, linguistic or otherwise, for the following statements concerning Codex D:—In its original condition it is the work of the scholar who about 140 A.D. compiled the Gospel-canon from the fourfold Gospels we now possess. This great unknown was, however, not merely a transcriber; he had in his possession a copy of the Semitic Gospel translated into Greek, closely resembling the version used by the first evangelist, and following this, he introduced numerous alterations into the autographs of the four Evangelists. The *Second Stage* in the history of the text of D occurs in the third century, when some transcriber introduced into it some of the readings of Origen's recension. Resch agrees with Credner that the Codex was preserved in Jewish-Christian circles, and thus was kept free from readings which had their origin in orthodox circles more or less influenced by Paulinism. The *third period* of the history of D is in the time shortly after Euthalius about 500 A.D., when for the first time the parallel Latin version was added, and when, as proved by Prof. Rendel Harris, some readings crept into the text, which were due to an alteration of the Greek, to bring it into harmony with the Latin. Before this time the Codex had found its way into Southern Gaul, where it was again preserved from orthodox recensions. The present Codex was written some years later by an ignorant scribe who allowed many senseless blunders to appear in the Greek text, and who seems in some passages to have written from dictation. There are certainly some remarkable *assertions* in the foregoing lines, and if Dr Resch is able to substantiate them, he has scarcely done himself justice in not giving us some inkling of the line of proof he intends to pursue. Towards the close of the volume Dr Resch does give us some reasons for maintaining that the first scribe used a Greek version of the Hebrew Urschrift. These I will shortly place before the reader, and leave him to judge as to their cogency.

As satellites round Codex Bezae and bearing witness to the same pre-canonical text, Dr Resch points to the old Latin Version, the Syriac Versions—especially the Curetonian, the Diatessaron of Tatian, the citations of the Gospels in the early Fathers, the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and the Liturgies of the ancient Church. After this, we have presented to us the *criteria for arriving at the original text*. The agreement of D, Itala and Cur. Syr. yields, beyond a doubt, the text of the Archetypal Gospel.

Itala and Cur. Syr. yield the same result. D and Cur. Syr. yield a text a little less reliable. This must certainly come as a surprise to our illustrious scholars Westcott and Hort,¹ as well as to the company of our revisers who share their reverence for B C \aleph . Turning to *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. p. 120, we find that the authors just cited say:—"On all accounts the Western text claims our attention first. The earliest readings which can be fixed chronologically belong to it. As far as we can judge from extant evidence it was the most widely spread text of Ante-Nicene times. But any prepossessions in its favour that might be created by this imposing early ascendancy are for the most part soon dissipated by continuous study of its internal character." So far as one can forecast, it is because of this early extensive diffusion of the Western text, of which D is the chief representative, that Dr Resch defends the originality and purity of the readings of D, when its agreement with the Vetus Itala and the Syriac shews that the reading has not been tampered with. "Continuous study of its internal character" has not in *his* case "dissipated the prepossessions in its favour caused by its imposing early ascendancy."

In chapter V. Resch avows himself a thorough disciple of Dr Bernhard Weiss in his criticism of the Text of the Gospels; especially in his views as to the priority of Mark to the other Synoptists; as to the existence of a "Source" originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, which was made use of by the Synoptists: the circulation of Greek translations of the Semitic Gospel, and also in his allocation of the different sections, verses, and clauses in the canonical Gospels to the source from which they were derived.

Chapter VI. is entitled "the pre-canonical Gospel." With great minuteness Resch lays down the principles in accordance with which it may be reconstructed, and discovers—in this respect differing from B. Weiss—that it covered generally the whole period from the Baptism to the Resurrection.

Chapter VII. is devoted to the point at issue between Dr Resch and myself as to the language in which the Urevangelium was written—whether in Hebrew or Aramaic. Dr Resch speaks very kindly of the deep interest with which he has studied my articles as they appeared in *The Expositor*; and alludes very fittingly to the fact that "in vollständiger Isolierung" we should simultaneously have arrived at the result that "there is a Semitic Gospel embedded in our present Synoptic Gospels." He has, however, three objections to urge against my work:—

1. I adopt as my starting-point—my basis of operations—a late text, viz., the text attested by B. C. \aleph . I do not adhere step by

¹ One of them, alas! taken from us as this passes through the press. By Dr Hort's death Textual Criticism loses its greatest master.—ED.

step to the results obtained by Weiss, as to which phrases and clauses originally belonged to the Semitic Gospel; and in consequence I sometimes perpetrate the blunder of translating into Aramaic, clauses found in parallelism in our present Gospels, whereas one or other of these clauses has been proved by Weiss not to have belonged to the Semitic "Source" at all, or else is due to later orthodox recension. In reply to this I have simply to say that I do not consider Weiss infallible, and therefore cannot feel myself condemned, because I differ from him. Indeed, in a letter which I received some eighteen months ago from perhaps the foremost theologian in Scotland, this sentence casually occurs: "Weiss seems to have satisfied no one but himself." Further, I may surely be acquitted for using the Revised Text as my basis, until the authority of the Western Text is a little more generally admitted; especially when, on turning to the page cited above from Westcott and Hort, we read that "the eccentric Whiston" and Bornemann are perhaps the only two who have "in modern times set up an exclusively or even predominantly Western Greek text as the purest reproduction of what the apostles wrote." If I err, therefore, in these respects, I err in good company.

2. Dr Resch objects to the Method I have employed in attempting to trace parallel Greek words to the same or similar Aramaic words. He correctly cites my plan of procedure in explaining the divergences in the Greek to be due to differences in the Aramaic text, caused (a) by different vocalisation of the same consonants, (b) the confusion of similar consonants, (c) omission of a letter, (d) transposition of adjacent letters. He quotes with approval the entire list I gave in the *Expositor* of February 1891, of instances in which the divergences between the Hebrew text and its citation in the New Testament may be explained in one or other of the above ways. He employs the method two or three times himself, as, e.g., in Luke x. 7=Matthew x. 10, where he explains the difference between τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ and τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ by a various Hebrew reading מַחֲיוֹ and מַחֲיוֹ; and yet he thinks that the extensive use I have made of the method is "a questionable experiment," and asks if it is credible that as many various readings would creep into Aramaic codices of the Gospels, as confessedly found their way into Hebrew codices, as is attested by the versions. One might reply that antecedently it is more probable. When we consider the reverence of the Jews for their Scriptures, the wealth at their command, which enabled them to procure the best parchment and the best scribes, and contrast this with the extreme poverty of the Jewish Christians, which would imply poor writing-material and poor scribes, it is less surprising that clerical errors should find their way into MSS. of the Aramaic Gospel than of

the Hebrew Scriptures. But the question is not one to be decided by antecedent probability, but by linguistic evidence. Is it a *fact* that precisely parallel, but divergent, words in our Synoptic Gospels yield, when translated into Aramaic, words very similar? Are these instances so numerous as to eliminate chance? Is it a fact that the divergences in some parts of the Gospels do not admit of this explanation? Is it true that there are evident traces of the type of Aramaic known as Galilean, the author being, according to tradition, a Galilean? If so, we have here a *vera causa*, to which antecedent probabilities must submit, and here we have a clue to guide us as to which parts of the Gospels belonged to the Aramaic Gospel, and which did not. Consequently the only legitimate line of attack on my position is to try to show that the above are *not* facts.

3. These remarks constitute also my reply to Dr Resch's third objection, that I do not include in the Pre-canonical Gospel the account of the Passion, which he maintains did belong to it.

This, then, is my rejoinder to Dr Resch's objections, which he himself sums up in the words : die Marshallschen Untersuchungen sowohl nach dem Ausgangspunkt als nach der sprachlichen Methode als nach ihren vorläufigen Resultaten zu einer befriedigenden Lösung der Frage noch nicht geführt haben.

Chapter VIII. is entitled, "Greek Translations of the Pre-canonical Gospel." Our author's theory is that the original Hebrew Gospel was translated repeatedly into Greek, and that these versions were used by our Synoptists in the composition of their Gospels. This he seeks to prove (1) by the Hebraisms found in the Gospels, especially in the first ; and (2) by the numerous synonymous words that occur in parallel passages in the Synoptics. I here subjoin a specimen of what, in the small volume before us, occupies many pages, and, in the volume to come, will, I suppose, be multiplied manifold.

VARIANT TRANSLATIONS BETWEEN LUKE AND MARK.

LUKE.		MARK.		HEBREW.
vi. 9.	ἀπολλύναι	iii. 4.	ἀποκτείνειν	המית
viii. 28.	προσπίπτειν	v. 6.	προσκύνειν	השתחוה
viii. 39.	διηγείσθαι	v. 19.	ἀπαγγέλλειν	הגיד
x. 4.	βαστάζειν	vi. 8.	αἶρειν	נשא
xiii. 19.	αὐξάνειν	iv. 32.	ἀναβαίνειν	עלה
xviii. 22.	λείπειν	x. 21.	ὑστερεῖν	חסר
xxi. 4.	ὑστέρημα	xii. 44.	ὑστέρησις	מחסור

But Dr Resch's strong point lies in his remarkable acquaintance with the literature of the early Church, and in the way in which he detects allusions, not only in the Epistles, but also in very early authors to phrases in the Synoptic Gospels. For these researches Dr Resch is entitled to lasting gratitude. To say that *some* of the allusions are fanciful or doubtful is simply to say that our author is human. After all deductions, he has unearthed a mass of very useful information. The point at which I must differ from my learned friend is when he thinks he has *proved* that these variations necessarily involve the existence of a Hebrew original. For instance (to select two of the more probable parallels), when, in Rom. viii. 26, "We know not what we should *pray* for," Resch sees an echo of Matt. xx. 22, "Ye know not what ye *ask*," and contends that this variation *proves* that the words were translated from a Hebrew original containing the word שְׁאֵלָה; this is certainly not the only possible solution. Similarly, when Clement of Alexandria, in quoting Matt. v. 17, uses the verb ἀφικνεῖσθαι for the canonical ἐρχεσθαι; and, in Matt. xi. 30, gives ἀβαρήs for ἐλαφρός, and, in Luke x. 40, gives ὑπηρετεῖν for διακονεῖν, there seems to me a decided deficiency of evidence to *prove* that Clement must have used a Version that had been translated from the Hebrew primitive Gospels, even if the cases above-cited are multiplied tenfold.

My objections to Dr Resch's "Sprachliche Methode" are two:—
 1. There are not more than one or two of all the cases which Dr Resch adduces in favour of a Hebrew original in which an Aramaic word might not with equal or greater propriety be substituted for his Hebrew word. 2. The occurrence of synonymous words is not of itself *sufficient* to prove translation from a common original. Such instances may equally well be explained from oral tradition. In quoting or transcribing from memory, the fault into which we regularly fall is to use words equivalent, but not identical. In the *Expositor* of May 1891, I threw out to our author the challenge: "Let Dr Resch adduce instances in which the diverse vocalization of the same *Hebrew* consonants, or the change of one letter, or the omission of a letter, or the transposition of two letters will produce the divergent Greek readings. . . ." This he declines to do, and, I am persuaded, cannot do; for, as Dr Resch correctly opines (page 105), I started my investigations under the hypothesis of a *Hebrew* original, but was obliged to change my cue, not "sichtlich, durch den Vorgang von Neubauer," but solely because Hebrew did not lend itself to the conditions required.

It is by the application of this same Method that Dr Resch seeks to prove that Codex Bezae manifests indications of having been revised by some one who had in his possession a translation of the Hebrew original. On page 145 we read: "Codex D in Luke iv. 5,

instead of τῆς οἰκουμένης, reads with Matthew, τοῦ κόσμου; Luke xiii. 24, instead of ἰσχύουσιν, reads with Matthew, εὐρήσονται; Luke xx. 23, instead of πανουργία, reads with Matthew, πονηρία," &c. Now, if some one were to maintain that the scribe was far more thoroughly acquainted with Matthew than with Luke, and allowed his recollection to dominate in his transcription, what could Dr Resch reply? I must again repeat my conviction, and leave scholars to adjudicate between us, that the occurrence in two documents of words almost or quite synonymous, though it may corroborate other evidence, is not sufficient, standing alone, to prove translation work from *any* foreign language.

In conclusion, I beg to thank Dr Resch for his kindness in sending me an advance copy of his work, which has enabled me to place his views before English readers at the earliest date; and I am sure they will all heartily endorse the wish with which he closes one of the letters I have had the pleasure of receiving from him: "Ich schliesse mit dem herzlichen Wunsche dass die gemeinsamen Forschungen zum Segen und zur Erbauung des Reiches Gottes dienen mögen."

J. T. MARSHALL.

Sermons on Subjects Connected with the Old Testament.

By S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, etc., Oxford.
London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix., 232. Price 6s.

IN his "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," Canon Driver was precluded by the plan of that work from touching "otherwise than incidentally" on certain important questions affecting the Old Testament, particularly on its value as a source of moral and religious instruction for the Christian Church of to-day. In order, therefore, to show "in what directions the Old Testament may be fruitfully and intelligently studied, and be made practically useful at the present day," and more especially to show how this may be done on the lines of the critical results set forth in "the former treatise," the sermons in this volume have been selected for publication. As an introduction to these, we find the paper which was read by Dr Driver to the recent Church Congress at Folkestone on "The Permanent Moral and Devotional Value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church." It was a happy thought to place the paper where it is, for the reader is thus enabled to see more clearly the point of view from which the discourses that follow have been written. The paper itself, it is hardly necessary to say, is

excellent so far as it goes, but the subject is one of which it is impossible to do more than touch the fringe in twenty minutes, the maximum time allowance. We are carried rapidly along from one topic to another, over each of which we would willingly linger: the persistent emphasis with which the performance of "the primary moral duties incumbent on man as man" is demanded in the Old Testament; the uniqueness of its models, the inspiration of its ideals, and the purity and spirituality of its religion. Turning from the moral to the devotional value of the Hebrew Scriptures, the author dwells chiefly, of course, though not exclusively, on the value of the Psalter in this respect. Notable as is the whole paper as a specimen of successful condensation, the author has excelled himself in his brief but comprehensive characterisation of the Psalter on pp. 15 and 16.

The sermons that follow are twelve in number, and cover a tolerably wide range of subjects. A considerable difference is discernible also in the mode of treatment, as may be seen by comparing the severely-learned study of the "Growth of Belief in a Future State" (of which more presently) with the simpler exegetical sermons (VIII.-XII.) in the latter half of the volume. As becomes one who is seeking rather to inform the minds than to move the feelings of his audience, the preacher aims chiefly at clearness and directness of statement, although on occasion—witness the fine passage in sermon II. on the glory of the Creator as manifested in Nature—he can rise even to eloquence. It is impossible to do more than call attention to one or two of the more noteworthy of the discourses. One of these is certainly that with which the series opens, entitled "Evolution compatible with Faith." The mutual relations of religion and science, and the limitations of their respective spheres, are evidently among Canon Driver's favourite topics of discourse, sermon VIII. (The First Chapter of Genesis) dealing with a different aspect of the same great problem. Both are due to the preacher's conviction that "a readjustment of the relations subsisting between theology on the one hand and criticism and science on the other, is beginning to be recognised as one of the pressing needs of the time" (p. 25).

In the sermon that follows on "The Ideals of the Prophets," I would bespeak the attention of the reader for the relation into which the Messianic hope is here brought to the famous prophecy of Nathan to King David. As regards sermon IV., already alluded to, it will be found with the accompanying notes (pp. 95-98) to be one of the most valuable of the series. "The Growth of Belief in a Future State" is traced stage by stage from its first appearance in the later books of the Canon, through the Apocalyptic Book of Enoch and the Targums, until we reach its full enunciation in the Gospels.

Nowhere else will the student find, in brief compass, so full, clear, and reliable a presentation of our present knowledge of this important subject. No mention is made in the notes or elsewhere, however, of Canon Cheyne's treatment of it in his Bampton Lectures.

Many readers of Canon Driver's book will probably turn eagerly to his treatment of "Inspiration" (pp. 143-162), for few will be found to dispute the fact that among the doctrinal needs of our time there is none more pressing than the need for a re-statement of the doctrine of Inspiration. Now there is much in this sermon that is suggestive and well-timed. I would instance the exposition of what our author felicitously terms "the relativity of inspiration," the emphatic statement of the danger "to the just claims of Christianity of a false theory of inspiration," and the equally emphatic demand for "an examination of the books that are described as inspired, and an impartial study of the facts presented by them" as the indispensable preliminary for a truer conception of inspiration. But the impression made by the sermon as a whole is vague and unsatisfactory. The fault lies less with the man than with his method. In other words, Professor Driver has put us off with a sermon, when he ought to have given us a volume.

The last five sermons, as their author informs us, "are of simpler structure than the rest," but here too the student of the Old Testament will find much that will help him to a better understanding of the ancient scriptures.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

The Early Narratives of Genesis.

A Brief Introduction to the Study of Genesis i.-xi. By Herbert E. Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, x., 138 pp. Price 3s.

PROFESSOR RYLE'S little book is a reprint of a short series of papers which appeared recently in the columns of the "Expository Times." In the familiar purple cloth of the Messrs Macmillan, they are now accessible in a form which makes their perusal more pleasant to the reader. "The object with which they were written was to discuss the contents of the opening chapters of Genesis in a simple and untechnical style, with special reference to the modifications of view which the frank recognition of the claims of Science and Criticism seems to demand" (preface, p. x.). No one surely who fully recognises the revolution in men's ideas as to the origin of the world and man, which half-a-century of scientific discovery has brought about, will say that the task which Professor Ryle here undertakes is premature. Even had that task been accomplished

much less successfully than it has been in these papers, he would still have deserved the thanks of all who would see an acknowledged impediment to belief removed from the path of many. It is moreover a matter for congratulation that this should have been done by one who is at once evangelical in his sympathies and competent in his scholarship; who combines a praiseworthy tact and a due reverence for the inspired narratives with a fearlessness which does not shrink from emphasizing the unhistorical character of these early chapters. Himself frankly accepting the teachings of science and the results of criticism, he here seeks to convince the most timorous and hesitating that such acceptance "is but a step forward in the recognition of God's way of making known His will to men."

I cannot attempt, in the space at my disposal, to do more than indicate very generally the method which Professor Ryle has adopted in these papers. The results of the literary analysis of Genesis i.-xi. are fully accepted; the double accounts of creation, the flood, &c., thus brought to light, are exhibited; the similarity between the Hebrew narratives and the corresponding legends of Babylonia is pointed out; and, finally, care is taken to emphasize the lofty spiritual tone and teaching which so sharply mark off the Hebrew version from its Babylonian counterpart. As regards the obvious connection between the two, this is shown to be due to their common origin. "Both the Hebrew and the Assyro-Babylonian traditions are derived from a primitive and pre-historic Semitic original" (p. iii.). It is also shown that, could we get behind the prophetic and priestly narratives in these chapters to the older sources from which they drew their materials, we should find a still stronger resemblance to the Babylonian legends, particularly as regards the polytheistic element which is so conspicuous a feature in the latter. Professor Ryle is repeatedly at pains to point out how the later Hebrew writer under the leading of divine inspiration, selects only those parts of the earlier narrative that suit his purpose, being extremely careful to "qualify, abbreviate, or omit that which did not seem suitable to or was in actual disagreement with the revealed religion of Israel." To this fact there can be little doubt that the abruptness and fragmentariness of the narratives in their present shape are mainly due. So much, then, for the outward form of these narratives.

The great truth, however, which our author would enforce in these pages is, that the early chapters of Genesis were never meant to be the medium of *scientific* instruction to our or to any other age. The lessons they convey to us now are the only lessons they were ever intended to convey, and these are purely *spiritual*. "Saint and seer shaped the recollections which they had inherited from a forgotten past, until legend too, as well as chronicle and prophecy

and psalm, became the channel for the communication of eternal truths" (p. 137).

By confining myself to what I take to be the author's general aim and method, I have sought to give a more just impression of his work than by entering, in the space at my disposal, into his treatment of the individual narratives. May he succeed in leading more of his own and other communions, "to treat science as the friend and not as the foe of divine revelation."

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Texts and Studies.

Vol. ii., No. 2. The Testament of Abraham, by M. R. James, M.A., with an Appendix containing Extracts from the Arabic Version of the Testaments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by W. E. Barnes, B.D. Cambridge, University Press. Pp. viii., 166. 8vo. 5s. net.

As to the quality of this instalment of "Texts and Studies," it is enough to say in general that it is not unworthy of the co-editor of the *Psalms of Solomon*. Here, of course, the work to be done is different. A pioneer's watchfulness joined with boldness is needed in an untrodden district. And such is this portion of the Pseudepigraphic Judæo-Christian literature. This branch of study is one about which the scholar is often inclined to have two minds. On the one hand it is full of the *bizarre* and fanciful, whose direct human value seems almost *nil*. On the other, its collateral results are momentous; because it gives him new eyes with which to see old features in the New Testament itself, and creates for him a new atmosphere, as it were, in which to study them. Towards the pressing yet most delicate task of discriminating the distinctively Christian elements from their accidental setting in the records of Christianity, Pseudepigraphic study has yet most valuable contributions to make.

What, then, are the topics broached in this particular collection of Patriarchal "Testaments"? In his preface Mr James answers as follows:—"Within the sphere of that literature they claim kindred with two important groups of books—the Apocalyptic and the Ethical. In respect of apocalyptic literature, important information is afforded by the Testament of Abraham as to the relationship subsisting between the various visions of the unseen; in particular, both the origin and the widespread popularity of the Apocalypse of Paul are illustrated. The ethical group of pseudepigrapha is enriched by the publication of the Testament of Isaac, the relation

of which to the *Didache* and to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs will, I hope, be recognised and investigated by others more fully than it has been by myself."

Were one inclined to criticise so excellent a gift as the present edition, one would perhaps single out as the weak point the omission of a discussion of the ethical affinities just glanced at, in an Introduction which can find room for an estimate of the influence of the Testament of Abraham upon a mediæval vision, like that of Thurchill.

To guide our thoughts, where a discussion of the point is impossible, it will be well to bear in mind the editor's general conclusions as to this "Testament." He says (p. 55): "My own deduction . . . is that the Testament was originally put together in the second century by a Jewish Christian: that for the narrative portions he employed existing Jewish legends, and for the apocalyptic, he drew largely on his own imagination (*cf.* the Ascension of Isaiah—perhaps, also, the *Test. xii. Patriarch*). The original compilation was re-edited, perhaps in the ninth or tenth century, by two different people;" the result being our Recension A and the common basis of Recension B and of the Arabic version. The recensions here mentioned are discussed at length in the introduction, and Mr James concludes that "A presents us with what is on the whole the fullest, clearest, and most consistent narrative," though with some mediævalisms. "B is an abridgment whose language is on the whole more simple and original than that of A. It omits much, and in several places adulterates the narrative with insertions from the Apocalypse of Paul. It is not an abridgment made from A." The Arabic "is an independent abridgment, . . . though, as a rule, more nearly related to B than to A. It, too, shows similarity to the Apocalypse of Paul. It inserts matter not found in A or B, and is shorter than either." "We should probably do right in following A in the main." From this it is evident that much care must be used in speaking of the original contents, at least for the present; though there seem to be some good data for comparative criticism,—*e.g.*, the Apocalypse of Paul, and others may subsequently be ascertained. Meantime our editor has printed the substance of the three versions in parallel columns, for purposes of internal comparison; and the result may be given as follows:—

Abraham is now aged. His hospitality has been his glory; but now "the bitter cup of death" is nigh to him. Michael is sent to bid him prepare, and finds him in the field. Abr. greets him as a stranger, and offers horses to carry them home, which M. firmly refuses as alien to his habits [B gives the story of Abr.'s name]. On the way a (cypress or tamarisk) tree speaks (of Abr.'s end, *A cf. B*). Arrived at home Abr. sends Isaac (who adores

M. as ἀσώματος) for water, and, amid tears of foreboding, washes M.'s feet (M.'s tears become precious stones, A, B; Sarah asks the cause of the weeping, B). Just before the meal M. ascends to God (as all angels do at sunset, B), and, touched by Abr.'s hospitality, begs that the news may be broken to him by a vision sent to Isaac (M. also enabled, though ἀσώματος, to eat with Abr., A). After supper (and wonted prayer, A), Isaac, though loath, departs to his own chamber; but during the night returns to his father in distress. Sarah hears them weeping, but is reassured by M. She recognises him to be an angel, and tells Abr. that he is one of the prior three strangers (Abr. agrees, having recognised M.'s feet when washing them, A, Ar. (?)). Isaac dreams of the Sun (Abr.) and Moon (Sarah) being taken away from him, the rays (their bodies) alone being left; M. interprets, but Abr. refuses to go with him (M. reports this refusal, and returns with God's message, A). Abr. begs to see all creation, while yet in the body. This God grants. Borne on a cloud Abr. sees the varied lot of men and their sins. On certain sinners he calls down death, so that God has to bid M. divert him to the contemplation of the celestial penalties, that he may learn pity. [A, B, though B transposes the visits to the lower and upper firmament, while Ar. omits the former]. Abr. is taken to the East (so A; to Oceanus, B, Ar., with *Apoc. Pauli*), and sees Two Gates (and Two Ways, A), one narrow, the other broad. Between them, outside, sat One on a throne, alternately weeping and laughing, though in the ratio of 7 : 1 (so B; "Twelve times doubled," Ar., cf. 1 saved in 7000, A). This is Adam watching his posterity enter the path of Life or of Perdition. Abr. fears lest, being a broad man, he be unable to get through the narrow gate, but is reassured by M. (so B, Ar.). Many souls (60,000 B, Ar.) are seen, driven by (two fiery, A) angels through the Broad Gate. Inside is a shining man upon a crystal throne, and in front of him a crystal table supporting a book six cubits thick by ten broad: on each side an angel recording. In front an angel with scales, and a fiery angel with a trumpet full of fire (A; variety of detail in B and Ar.). A soul, whose sins and good deeds exactly balance, is left "in the midst" for the present. M. explains. The judge is Abel (A, B). All souls are judged (1) by Abel, (2) at the Second Coming, by the twelve Tribes (or the twelve Tribes by the Apostles, A, *codd.*), (3) by the Lord God [so A; B, Ar. give case of a soul convicted of *deceit* before the Judge by Enoch, "the Scribe of Righteousness": this *may* come from *Apoc. Pauli*,¹ as B shows a confusion with the former soul]. The soul

¹ Though James says (p. 26) that the *Apoc.* of Peter may be a source common to the two works.

"in the midst" needs one good work to turn the scale. Abr. and M. intercede. It vanishes, and M. says it is saved. Those before destroyed at Abr.'s instance, are now restored to life (A; now follows in B the visit to the lower firmament, while A continues). Abr. is brought back home, but again demurs to die. M. consults God, who summons Death, and bids him assume a fair form and take Abr.'s soul gently (here A, B, again). Death does so, and greeting Abr. explains who he is, and why so glorious. Abr. retires to his chamber: Death dogs his steps (so A), and at Abr.'s request assumes his proper guise of fear, of which varying details are given (*e.g.*, Ar. mentions Death's son, Atarlimos). The servants die, but are revived at Abr.'s prayer. Abr. lies down: Death persists, and in answer to a query explains the symbolism of his guises, adding that there are seventy-two kinds of death. Abr. craves delay, but waxes faint (A). Death invites him to kiss his hand; he does so, and his soul cleaves thereto (so A; B, Ar. leave Death no part). M. and a host of angels carry the soul in a heavenly robe to Paradise.

Such, according to the consensus of A with B or Ar., is an epitome of this Testament. The one probable omission on part of A is Abr.'s fear of the narrow gate, which may well have seemed to the editor unworthy of Abr., just as his refusal to die seemed so to B. The following points seem worthy of note. (1) There is a strong Hebraic cast of thought about the whole, so that it serves to illustrate the New Testament, time and again. The names of God are varied and Hebraic in type. While we may justly recognise the Apocalyptic section in which the author gives his views upon the judgment of souls (cc. x.-xiv.), as the kernel of the book; yet there is strong emphasis of the Patriarch's characteristic virtue of "hospitality," as in the original basis of the *Test. xii. Patr.* (2) The juxtaposition of Two Ways with Two Gates in A (c. xi.) gives rise to some confusion in the text at least; and it is quite possible that B, which "preserves the greatest proportion of the original language," and has, in the first instance, simply a "little" and a "great" gate (so Ar.), presents the original text, which would be liable to modification under the influence of Matt. vii. 13, and the prevalent "Two Ways" idea. (3) The editor seems right in reading (c. xiii.) "at the Second Coming every breathing thing and every creature shall be judged by the Twelve Tribes of Israel," according to the best MS., the rest supporting "by the (12) Apostles." To his arguments one might add the analogy supplied by the *Test. xii. Patr.* (Judah, 25.; Benj., 10), where the patriarchs are represented as coming to life to rule their tribes, and through them the world; as also *Test. of Isaac*, which speaks of the throne prepared for Isaac and Jacob, as well as

Abraham, who shall together be "above every one in the kingdom of the heavens" (p. 140). (4) The Christian element seems really very slight, and withal so veiled in Apocalyptic fashion as to suggest, by comparison with the Christian patches in the *Test. xii. Patr.*, a date early rather than late in the second century. A purely Jewish basis, if made out, might be even much earlier. But this cannot be properly discussed apart from the *Test. xii. Patr.*, to which, indeed, it and its fellows seem a sort of logical antecedent.

It is time now to say a few words on the cognate Arabic Testaments of Isaac and Jacob, extracts from which have been added by Mr Barnes. They are slighter productions, and written on the same lines. The extracts given deal mainly with the unseen world of final award. But that of Isaac has special features calling for separate notice. In his case we get something deserving the name "Testament." For in response to the desire of those around him at his last hours, Isaac delivers a "discourse" unto "consolation" or exhortation. This contains much akin to the *Two Ways* (e.g., "beware of these sins and what resembles them"); but its affinities with the Essene ideal are quite remarkable. Thus it insists on purity, saying, "take heed to thy vile body that it may be pure and sanctified;" also, "bathe in water when thou wouldst draw near to the altar," bringing "thy offerings to God." The features, too, of the priestly life recall the picture of the Essenes in Josephus (*B. J.*, ii. 8). There is something strange about the way in which the discourse is introduced, and the same may be said of its close. Indeed, the book throughout stands in need of much ampler annotation than the editor has so far been able to supply. One feels as if we may be dealing with a patchwork, derived in part from documents like "the spiritual books of God," or "the ancient book concerning our Holy Fathers," mentioned in the *Test. of Jacob*. The title, moreover, of the Arabic Testaments runs as follows:—"A discourse pronounced by the religious father, our father Athanasius, . . . wherein he tells of the departure of the pious fathers . . . to their rest . . . from what is found in the Treasury of Sacred Knowledge" (cf. Bezold's *Schatzhöhle*). Signs of the idea that Isaac, in his latter days at least, enjoyed priestly skill, may perhaps be seen in the *Test. of Levi* (c. ix.), where Levi goes to Isaac for instruction in his future office. A Jewish or very primitive Jewish-Christian nucleus, to say the least, is suggested by several features. Thus "the kingdom" is intimately bound up with Patriarchs (not Apostles), to remember whom by "an offering on the memorial day," or even by "naming one's son after Isaac," is a condition of entering that "kingdom" by inclusion in their "covenant." Again, the Divine

names, varied as they are, and including titles like "the Living One," "the Creator the Merciful," "He who holds ($\chi\omega\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$?) all," "Who is not comprehended, Who cannot be searched out, the Lord of Might, the Treasury of Purity"—these seem of fundamentally Jewish—possibly Essenic, mould. The phrase, "the first hour of the banquet of the 1000 years" belongs to a Jewish circle of thought, as does the statement that "God shall abide upon Him (Jesus the Messiah) till 100 (? 1000) years be fulfilled." As to locality, if we may trust its type of "Trisagion" as evidence, probability looks again to Egypt.

As to Jacob's Testament, it is enough to say that its features are "the scanty remains of a vision of Paradise and Hell," and "the ethical discourse, or Testament proper, which is so prominent in the Testament of Isaac, and in those of the Twelve Patriarchs." In view of the fact that this latter is lacking in Abraham's case, the suspicion occurs that some such section of an archaic type has dropped out of our present recension.

Editorial oversights seem to be few (*e.g.*, p. 39 *l.* 3-4, 21; 45 *mid.*, *l.* souls). To both scholars our best thanks are due for this breaking of fresh ground; and the more so, that the Preface contains an assurance on Mr James' part that he has other finds of the same sort in store for us.

VERNON BARTLET.

The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland Historically Treated.

The 14th Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Charles Greig M'Crie, Ayr. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 8vo, pp. xxi., 465. Price 10s. 6d.

MR M'CRIE deserves much credit for having selected for his lectures a subject rather remote from popular interest, but worthy of careful study, and for having bestowed on it a treatment so thorough and scholarly as to make his book a real contribution to our literature. Though somewhat remote from popular interest, it is a subject which, in its practical bearings, has come to be regarded by an increasing number both of ministers and laymen as one of profound importance. The day is surely past when the one object of churchgoing was to hear a sermon, and when "half-day hearing," as it was called, was the great sin of irregular worshippers. We would fain hope that the enhanced sense of importance now assigned to the exercises that are more strictly (though not exclusively) parts of divine worship, is

due to a higher appreciation of divine fellowship, and of the inestimable blessings that flow from the gracious presence of God in His ordinances. And yet one cannot but feel that with another class the motive is different; they are fond of solemn forms, and relish all the contributions which external attributes can bring to the services of the sanctuary; if they cannot enter into her true glory of spiritual service, they desire the counterfeit to be as imposing as possible.

Mr M'Crie has very carefully defined and limited his subject; his aim is purely historical; it is to give "a statement of the legislation and a description of the service-books which have determined the usage and practice of Scotland when free to carry out her chosen and beloved Presbyterian policy and ritual." He does not even contend with Episcopalians, and in matters still disputed among some of our Presbyterian sections, he is as impartial as a judge. He thinks that in a silent way the facts he has recorded will not be without their influence in moving men's minds—he hopes in a right direction, but is not very sure—but it shall not be by him that they are pointed to any particular conclusion. As much as lieth in him he will live peaceably with all men. While we esteem the motive that has led him thus to suppress himself in order that his facts may do the whole work, it is impossible not to feel that it has made his book somewhat cold and colourless, and we confess we have sometimes longed for the man himself to burst through the historian's fetters, and tell us what he deems the lessons of the whole. Or if such an impetuous outburst would have been unsuitable, a calm, judicial summing up of the bearings of his historical investigation might have been a not unworthy conclusion.

Mr M'Crie's subject begins properly with the Reformation, but that we may get the right point of departure for the movement then, he deems it right to lay before us the scanty scraps of information we have as to the devotional services in the early period of the Scottish Church—the age of Ninian and then of Columba, and more fully of the Roman Church of later times. Whatever may have been true of the early Columban Church, it is certain that liturgical forms were familiar to the Culdees of later times, and it is possible that this fact was not without its influence on John Knox, in preparing his Book of Order for the use of his countrymen. But Mr M'Crie is at great pains to point out that Knox's Book of Order was not a liturgy, and was not designed to be used as liturgies are used. He is angry at David Calderwood, who set the example of calling it by that name, whereas all that was designed was, that it should be a sort of practical directory for public worship, to be used occasionally as occasion might require, but by no means to be imposed as a compulsory form. The whole circumstances connected with its origin

and use are gone into, and as a sort of set-off to the zeal of Knox in this direction, emphasis is laid on his stern opposition to the attitude of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, and to the fact that Knox was the author of the "black rubric" in the English prayer-book, in which the notion is repudiated that any act of adoration is done by kneeling either to the sacramental bread and wine, or to the corporeal presence of the Lord Jesus Christ.

There can be no doubt that several liturgical practices were observed in the Reformed Church of Scotland during the first century of its existence, that for various reasons were afterwards dropt. Often in ignorance practices have been denounced as "innovations" which were really restorations. In this respect it has fared with the Church of Scotland as it has fared with the English language. Professor Freeman has shown that many of the expressions which we are accustomed to regard as Americanisms, and to ascribe to a coining tendency with which we credit the Yankees, are really obsolete forms of English that used to be employed readily in the old country, and after becoming extinct there, survived across the sea. Whether the restoration of such ancient practices as the singing of the Gloria Patri be proper or not, all persons who do not wish to be branded for ignorance should take care not to expose those who are in favour of them to the invidious charge of introducing innovations.

It is almost amusing to observe how in the seventeenth century that charge used to be applied not to persons who introduced new customs, but to those who abandoned the old. The innovators were those who omitted the doxology, abstained from kneeling for silent prayer on entering the pulpit, and objected on principle to the reading of prayers. The old practices were abandoned out of deference to the feelings of English independents and others, who seem to have had a greater dislike to anything that was practised in the Church of Rome than even the Scottish Presbyterians.

Mr McCrie has been at great pains to show what was the character of the service held in the churches of Scotland during those periods when episcopacy prevailed. He has made it very plain that in few places was the service liturgical, and that the use of the English prayer-book was almost wholly unknown. He will not allow Dr Robert Lee to maintain that the exceptional case of liturgical worship in Banchory Devenick was a criterion of the general practice. As for Sir Walter Scott, his strange error in introducing the English prayer-book in the days of the Covenanters was exploded long ago by Mr McCrie's grandfather. But there are probably many who still suppose that the book which Laud sent down, and which was produced by the Dean of Edinburgh on the famous occasion when Jenny Geddes became so frantic, was the English liturgy.

Scotland was then too independent a kingdom, and the memory of Wallace and Bruce was too fresh to admit of an attempt being seriously made to reduce her, through an English book, to the rank of a province of England.

The slovenliness of the worship during the period of "moderate" ascendancy comes in for a just rebuke in these pages. The only thing the moderates did in the interest of public worship was to introduce the paraphrases. It is evident that Mr M'Crie has no particular admiration for them. And indeed as a whole, the collection is not of much value. The "survival of the fittest" principle has made great havoc of the list, and if we count how many of them are to be found in the latest collection of hymnology,—the "Home and School Hymnal of the Free Church of Scotland," we find but three. Beyond all doubt there is much more of the Gospel in most collections of hymns than in the paraphrases as a whole. Yet the idea of the paraphrases was a good one—to turn into verse, and adapt for congregational singing, lyrical and other poetical parts of Scripture outside the book of Psalms. It is hard to understand on what ground the most devoted lover of the Psalms should object to sing in public worship the songs of the Apocalypse, and especially to join the church above in that sublime song—which is certainly not less incumbent on the church below—"Worthy is the Lamb that was slain."

Certainly no such view found favour with the early Seceders when the Associate Synod, having determined on an enlargement of their psalmody, "recommended to the Rev. Mr Ralph Erskine to have under his consideration a translation of the songs of Scripture into metre, except the Psalms of David, which are already translated." A paraphrase of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, a new version of the Song of Solomon, and Scripture songs in two books, from the Old Testament and the New, which were at one time extremely popular, appeared from the pen of Erskine, but though their use in public worship seems to have been at one time contemplated by the Synod, the matter was allowed to drop, and even now, in the Hymnal of the United Presbyterian Church, only one of Erskine's pieces is found. In the Testimony of the General Associate Synod, issued in 1804, it is maintained, in regard to worship, "that the psalms contained in the book which bears this name, and other Scripture songs, were given by divine inspiration, to be used in the ordinance of praise under the Old Testament. That these psalms and songs are by the same authority under the New Testament, and that these as well as others contained in the New Testament itself may be sung in the ordinance of praise." Again, in 1827, when the United Associate Synod, formed by the union of two sections of the Secession, issued a testimony, it was

declared, that "as Scripture doxologies, and the divinely appointed petitions of saints may be warrantably adopted in our devotional exercises, both public and personal, so may the Lord's prayer be used by itself, or in connection with other supplications." And in regard to praise, "that other parts of Scripture may be used in praise, but we reject the principle that the book of Psalms is not suited to the Christian dispensation." So early as 1794, the Relief Church adopted a selection of hymns for the public praises of God, and in the preface to the volume it was asked, "Are not the psalms or songs of Moses, of Isaiah, of Paul, of Peter, of John, and of other sacred writers, as sacred and important as those of David, Asaph, Heman, &c. In particular, can any just reason be assigned why Christians should not sing the songs of their own dispensation, but still confine themselves to those of the ancient tabernacle and temple? They very properly use passages of the New Testament in their prayers, and why not also in their praises? Our psalms were reduced to metre by uninspired men, and may not other passages of Scripture be formed into metre by uninspired men likewise, and be every way as beneficial for the edification of Christians?"

Mr McCrie gets on more delicate ground when he proceeds in his last chapter to record all that has been done recently in Presbyterian Scotland, with a view to the improvement of worship. But the same painstaking anxiety is manifest here to give accurate and thoroughly authenticated narratives of what has taken place in each of the Scottish denominations. The Scottish Church Society of the Established Church, called by the *Scotsman* the High Church Society, had just appeared above the horizon as his volume was passing through the press. It might have proved a serious temptation to him to break through his rule of restraint, as it certainly would have been interesting to his hearers to know his view "whereunto this thing should grow," but he has contented himself in the last appendix with reprinting the official account of its constitution and objects.

One cannot close the book without admiration of its careful, workmanlike character, which is the more to be esteemed in an age of so much rapid writing and hasty compilation. In this point of view, as well as in respect of other considerations, it is very appropriately dedicated to that veteran and venerable Presbyterian investigator—Professor A. F. Mitchell of St. Andrews.

W. GARDEN BLAIKIE.

**What and How to Preach. Lectures delivered in the
United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh.**

*By Alexander Oliver, B.A., D.D. (Edin.), Minister of Regent Place
United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, &c., &c. Edinburgh
and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1892. 8vo,
pp. 189. Price 3s. 6d.*

THESE lectures are admirable alike in matter and in manner. Dr Oliver does not profess to cover the whole field of homiletics; nor does he attempt to elaborate any theory of preaching. That he has decided views of his own, and that on occasion he could give substantial reasons for them, one feels at every turn; but under "the instructions of the Synod," Dr Oliver "has kept a practical end in view" throughout the series of eight lectures. He brings to his task a mind rich in evangelical sympathies and in saving common sense. He has read widely in homiletic literature, English and French. His lengthened ministry has given him ample opportunity for observation and reflection. He knows the difficulties and perplexities of the modern minister. He understands and sympathises with the earnest student, anxiously attempting to forecast the conditions of a ministry still in the future. And he has given us a book which for insight, sympathetic treatment, good sense, and breadth of view will bear favourable comparison with any homiletic manual of its size known to me. The book is all the better for the entire absence of any approach to the *ex cathedra* manner. Dr Oliver's great object is to stimulate independent thought. "I am," he says, "to submit to you what experience and study have taught myself, and to ask you to canvass it thoroughly; to look at it all round, and then to accept what commends itself to your judgment." He begins with a succinct statement of the duties and difficulties of the Christian ministry, and then discusses successively the matter and form of preaching, the manner of preaching, the choice and treatment of texts, variety in the pulpit, and speculative difficulties in the pulpit. Occasionally the style shows traces of haste; and the reading for the press is not so careful as it ought to have been. A quotation from Vinet on p. 131 is utterly spoiled. Perhaps Dr Oliver overdoes quotation; some of his pages are loaded with inverted commas. At times we are at a loss to know to whom he refers. *E.g.*, who is "the Bishop of Oxford" mentioned on p. 134? Some of his recommendations I think very questionable. He says, "the old method of careful writing and careful committing is to be commended. That will yield, in the average, the best results." To my thinking, "mandating," however careful, is to be recom-

mended only in very exceptional circumstances or as a stage in the training for pulpit work. Some of the speculative difficulties here discussed belong more to the past than to the present, and Dr Oliver's method of dealing with them is in some cases too abstract. But nothing could be better than his treatment of sensational preaching, his remarks on "preaching to the times," and his advice to young preachers on the choice of texts. The same might be said with regard to his treatment of many other topics. Altogether, this is one of the most helpful and useful books that could be put into the hands of a young preacher.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.

With an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic, based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson, late Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. Edited . . . by Francis Brown, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford, and Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Union Theological Seminary. Part I (Aleph). Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1892. 88 pages, 4to. 2s. 6d.

THE want of a standard Hebrew lexicon, embodying the varied results of philological and critical investigations since the days of Gesenius, has long been pressingly felt. Though attempts, more or less successful, have at different times been made, not only in Germany, but also in this country and America, to revise and amend the lexicon of the great Hebraist, the vast and unexpected accumulation of materials gathered during recent years through the labours of many investigators in the field of Semitic study has now rendered the preparation of a satisfactory lexicon by one man an utter impossibility. But it is gratifying to find the work conjointly undertaken by such scholars as Drs Brown, Driver, and Briggs, whose names alone inspire confidence and guarantee the highest excellence in the execution of the task.

Some idea of the enormous labour involved in the preparation of the materials utilised may be gained from the fact that the table of abbreviations used for the sake of economising space, and largely containing references to authorities quoted, occupies fully three pages, each containing three columns and printed in minute type. Actual examination of this first part now published only deepens the first impression, and fills the reader's mind with gratitude for the noble service here rendered. These eighty-eight pages contain

an account of all Hebrew root-words beginning with the first letter of the alphabet, together with their derivations: Aramaic words occurring in the Bible have been wisely relegated to the end of the volume. While it is but right to wait till the completion of the work before forming very definite opinions regarding it, this specimen sufficiently enables one to see what may be expected from the whole.

That the work issues from the Clarendon Press vouches for the highest excellence in typography, while admirable skill and ingenuity have been displayed in taking full advantage of manifold variety of type for indicating much within little space. It may fairly be questioned, however, whether condensation and brevity have not been carried rather too far; we certainly think that especially in the case of verbs, it would have given considerable relief to the eye of the student, and would have saved some little time in consulting the lexicon, if a new line had been begun in passing from the Qal to Niphal, Piél, and other parts. Judging, indeed, from the first page of the work, it would almost appear as if some change of plan had been made in this respect just after the start.

From a perusal of what is found under such words as אָבֵל and אֶבֶן, under אָרוֹם and אֶרֶם or again under אָחֵר and אַחֵר, one is glad to find sober conclusions and excellent material for another great work still in the future, viz., the preparation of a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible which shall more nearly approach the original text than that presented by the Masoretes. And from such remarks as are found on p. 14, where reference is made to E, D, J, and P, the reader will perceive the general position of the editors in relation to the newer criticism.

While the citation of illustrative passages under the several words discussed is admirably full, and frequently, indeed, exhaustive, we have now and then felt somewhat disappointed at finding an occasional want of precision in stating the meanings of words. As there happen to be several nouns in Hebrew meaning "dust," it would have been well, under אֶבֶן, to state that it signifies "fine dust," or powder. Similarly, inasmuch as the Hebrew language is somewhat richer than the English in words meaning a "fool," it might have been stated, more distinctly than has been indicated, that אֵוִיל mostly signifies a fool who is at once ignorant, self-conceited, and irascible. And under אֶרֶל it might have been mentioned that this word, as distinguished from others bearing a like general sense, means a full-grown lion. Perhaps in the remaining portions of the work more attention may be given to such distinctions, so as still further to enhance the value of this great work.

JAMES KENNEDY.

A Practical Introductory Grammar.

*By Edwin C. Bissell, Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary.
Hartford, Conn., 1891. 8vo., 134 pages. 7s. net.*

THE tasteful and even beautiful style in which the work is printed might well be sufficient inducement to study the Hebrew language. Genuine pleasure is afforded by the whole appearance of the book which is an excellent example of highly-developed typographical skill. Nor has the author spared labour and pains in his preparation. Much care has been bestowed in collecting and arranging the materials in the order deemed most likely to aid students in making sure and steady progress. With this end in view, the statement of grammatical principles is constantly accompanied by brief illustrative examples, while each lesson is followed by sentences for translation into Hebrew. Further consideration is shown for the convenience of the learner in the gradual introduction of a good working vocabulary; in the lists of words, those from a common root are associated with it, and practical lessons in derivation thus quietly given. This procedure might have been felt burdensome, especially because many of these words are not turned to immediate account; but the author has made constant endeavour to establish a bond of connection between the Hebrew and some word in English which might suggest the other. Sometimes, however, the association appears somewhat forced, and apt to mislead rather than guide aright; certainly the likeness is often purely formal. מֶשֶׁל "to rule" bears but an accidental resemblance to "marshal" (p. 32); and though we may concede that the "heart" (לֵב) needs "lav-ing" (p. 47), we are not convinced of any real connection subsisting between the Hebrew and the English words here indicated.

Fuller treatment of the syntax could have been wished, and even in the classification of nouns a simpler arrangement is desirable and possible. Care should be taken, before the appearance of a second edition, to remove non-existent forms such as שָׁמַךְ (p. 7), מְלִיָּהִם and מְלִיָּהֶם (p. 15), צִאֲנִי and צִאֲנִי (p. 13), מְפָרִי (p. 28), &c., to correct the quotation from the Greek of Mark v. 41, given on p. 40, as well as misprints in the Hebrew found on pages 43, 77, and 103.

JAMES KENNEDY.

The Hebrew Verb: A Series of Tabular Studies.

By Augustus S. Carrier, adjunct Professor in M'Cormick Theological Seminary. Chicago, 1891. 8vo, 33 pages. 2s.

THIS work, in a simply and ingeniously arranged series of tables, presents the student with a view of the origin and development of the Hebrew verb, beginning with what were probably the primitive forms, and tracing these, through their various modifications, to the final stages reached in the language of the Old Testament. The whole may thus be regarded as the rationale of the Hebrew verb, presented in the shape of graduated illustrations accompanied by brief explanatory notes. It is not every teacher who can afford the time necessary for setting before his pupils this philosophy of an important factor in the Hebrew language, and most students may find it quite enough to master the verbs, as these are given in the ordinary paradigms; but those who wish to see the probable genesis and growth of the forms before their final crystallisation, may find much help in this unpretentious but valuable work.

JAMES KENNEDY.

"The Making of a Man."

By Rev. J. W. Lee, D.D. New York: Cassell Publishing Company. 8vo, pp. 372. Price not stated.

It is pleasant in these days, when the almost universal tendency is to account for all that is by brute force and physical law, to see an attempt made to find the interpretation of the universe in mind, spirit, intelligence. The volume before us is such an attempt made by a thoughtful man of some culture and literary ability. The object of the book is to show, as the author remarks in one of the many felicitous sayings scattered throughout its pages, that "the meaning of creation is not understood till dust stands erect in a living man"; that man is the *raison d'être* of the external universe; that all else that exists, exists for the sole purpose of the "making of a man." There may not be anything very original in this position; but Dr Lee looks at it from a point of view of his own, and expresses himself in language which is always intelligible, and often pointed, and even eloquent, reminding us of Emerson, of whom we seem to catch frequent glimpses during the perusal of the volume.

The author begins by combating, in his Introduction, the theory

that man is only a part of nature, an animal among animals, a vertebrate among vertebrates, a mammal among mammals. So far from this being the case, according to Dr Lee, nature—the whole of nature—is there just for man, who, alone of all created beings, has needs that correspond in number and variety to the numerous and varied powers of nature. For the oyster "a little basin in the sea" is enough of this vast and beautiful world; for the elephant, "a few acres of Asiatic jungle"; for the bird, "a tree, and a worm, and a small circle of sky to fly around. *But man needs it all.* . . . He is related to it all, and to be completely furnished must be able to use it all."

How he is related to it all; how each of his many wants corresponds to some aspect of the universe in which he is placed—this is the subject-matter of the seven following chapters, each of which deals with one of the needs of human nature and the provision made for it:—The first, "Bread," treats of the physical nature of man and the provision made for it; the second, "Power," of his social nature; the third, "Truth," of his intellectual nature, and so on. Perhaps the best chapters are those on "Bread" and "Truth." In the first of these, the author is particularly happy when he contrasts the lower animals with man, and shows that however marvellous instinct in certain animals may be, it differs from human reason in that it never developes, never grows, never learns. "The first bird, bee, or beaver ever created had as much sense as the last"; and again in another place: "The beaver cuts his tree and builds his dam to-day just as the beaver did in the first year of his existence. The bee that built his cell in the trees of paradise, and gathered his honey from the flowers that grew in the garden of Eden, knew as well how to construct a cell according to mathematical principles, and to pack it with honey, as the Italian bee of the nineteenth century, who stores his honey in a painted gum prepared for him by man."

This difference Dr Lee traces to the absence in the lower animals of what in man he calls "social power." If an individual man were to grow up from infancy apart from his fellow-men, "he would be more destitute than the brutes," whereas, "a squirrel gains no element of squirrelhood by companionship, and loses no element of it in isolation." If the author were more familiar with his Hegel than he appears to be, he would no doubt have stated the distinction to consist in the fact that man possesses the Universal, while the brutes have only the Particular. But Dr Lee is always careful, perhaps too careful, to avoid becoming abstruse. Indeed it is the exoteric character of the present volume that we would object to: to spin a theory of the universe out of one's own brain in a series of graceful easily written essays is a somewhat too ambitious

undertaking. Still the book is very good of its kind; and to those who are regularly engaged in the writing of sermons or moral lectures it will be found to yield much useful suggestion, and many striking illustrations and passages for quotations.

A. HUTCHISON STIRLING.

Notices.

UNDER the title of *The Gospel of a Risen Saviour*,¹ the Rev. R. M'Cheyne Edgar, Moderator of the Irish Presbyterian Church, publishes a treatise on the Resurrection of Christ, with the two-fold object of showing the completeness of the evidence for that event, and stating its doctrinal and ethical significance. The larger part of the volume is devoted to the question of the evidence. This is the best part of the work, and of this part the most satisfactory sections are those which deal with the historical testimony as it appears in the New Testament. The book begins with a brief statement of the natural arguments for man's immortality, with some criticisms of their shortcomings. It passes on to speak of the Resurrection of Christ as the key of the Christian position, and of a Risen Christ as the True Messiah. The argument here tends to be strained. The great texts in the Psalms and Prophets which contain the idea of a resurrection are briefly reviewed, but with small reference to the kind of resurrection, whether national or individual, that is in view to each; and the Old Testament witness to the thought of a resurrection is carried back step by step until we are taken to the *Protevangelium*. Here, strange to say, in Genesis iii. 15, we have, according to Mr Edgar, "the source of the resurrection idea, and, above all, of the idea of a risen Messiah." The following chapters deal with the historical testimony to Christ's resurrection. Mr Edgar takes Paul first, making a careful examination of the witness in the four primary Epistles, and proceeding from these to the other Epistles. He next examines the testimony of Peter, James, Jude, the book of Acts, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Evangelists. In what is said of the last, Mr Edgar is seen at his best. The testimony of the women, the appearance of Christ to Mary, the several narratives of the Ascension, are handled with much ability and insight. A brief but forcible statement is added of the evidential value of the Lord's Day and the Lord's Supper. The remaining chapters are partly critical and partly constructive. The criticism sometimes misses the mark by failing to grasp the exact point of the opinions against which it is directed, and on the whole the book might have been stronger if it had given less space

¹ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xv. 376. 7s. 6d.

to these things. It is the result, however, of the thought and reading of years. Its references to authorities are so abundant as to make it a good guide to the literature of the various subjects which it treats. Above all, it is written with the strong note of conviction, with a joyful assurance of the firm foundations of the Church's faith, and with an intense sense of the power of Christ's resurrection.

Professor Nöldeke's *Sketches*,¹ of which a notice was given in our last number, now appear in an English translation. The essays are on a considerable variety of subjects, ranging from the *Syrian Saints* to *King Theodore of Abyssinia*. Professor Nöldeke is always worth listening to, and what he says in this volume on such subjects as the *Characteristics of the Semitic Race*, the *Koran*, *Islam*, and *Bar Hebraeus*, is of great value. Mr J. Sutherland Black has succeeded in giving us a rendering of these interesting *Sketches* into good idiomatic English, which also can be relied on as a thoroughly correct representation of the original. To Mr Black we are also indebted for a commentary on the *Book of Judges*,² which, though of small bulk, is a very scholarly addition to the "Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools" series. Some tempting emendations of the text are offered. In v. 8, *e.g.*, Professor Robertson Smith's suggestion is given, which would yield the sense, "The joyful noise of the new moons ceased; the defenders of the gates were no more"; and in ix. 41, we get the same scholar's corrected reading and rendering: "Abimelech returned to his ambushment." The exposition of Deborah's song deserves special attention. The variety of date assignable to different parts of the book, as we have it, is carefully stated. The double accounts of some things—*e.g.*, the war with Midian—are held to be "most naturally explained as due to the fluctuations of oral tradition in the course of generations."

Cornill's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*,³ which has already been reviewed in this journal, has very rapidly reached its second edition. In this edition the citations have been carefully revised, certain improvements have been introduced in the indices, and some important changes have been made in the section on *Jeremiah*. The author adheres very firmly to his view of the Elihu speeches. He notices also Meinhold's article on the *Problem des Buches Hiob*, which

¹ *Sketches from Eastern History*. By Theodore Nöldeke. Translated by John Sutherland Black, M.A., and revised by the Author. London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 8vo, pp. vii. 288. Price 10s. 6d.

² *The Book of Judges*. With Map, Introduction, and Notes. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. 116. Price 1s.

³ *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*. Erste Abtheilung. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 324. Price M. 5.

appeared in the *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* when the *Einleitung* was passing through the press. But he notices it only to reject a conception of the book which makes ch. xix. the turning-point of the whole drama, after which Job is completely and finally victorious over all doubts and temptations.

Mr Capron's volume on the *Antiquity of Man*¹ is meant as a reply to Mr Samuel Laing. In its criticisms of Mr Laing's assertions, its remarks on the sense of the verb rendered "create," and its statements on the view which Genesis gives of the origin of man's spiritual nature, there is much to sympathise with. But its own value as an attempt to place the record of Creation in Genesis in relation to the record of modern science is another question. It discards very properly the interpretation of the "days" as indefinite periods. Its own explanation is that the first two verses deal with the *creation* of things, and the following verses with their *formation*; and that what is affirmed of the six days is only the pronouncing of the laws for the production of things, the Bible saying nothing of the length of the interval which elapsed between the giving of these laws and the actual appearance of the resulting phenomena. In connection with this we get some precarious speculations as to the use of *Logos* in John i. 1; the philological coincidence between the two terms *Law* and *Logos*; and the inclusion of the idea of *law* in the term *Word* as used by John. Mr Capron adds another to the numerous "reconciliations" between Genesis and Science. He fails to see that the whole question has taken an entirely new complexion, and has become in the first instance a literary and historical question, a question of the origin and use of documents embodied in the sacred narrative.

The late Professor Moeller's *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, which was noticed in our April number last year, obtained just and speedy recognition as a compendium combining a broad view of the historical movement of the Church as a whole, with a sufficient condensation to details. The work deserves to be made generally accessible to the English reader. We are glad, therefore, to have this English translation. The book is one of unquestionable merit, and in many respects a model manual. It avoids mixing up its statements with uncertain hypotheses, and studiously keeps in view the surer results of historical inquiry. In point of size it is the happy mean between the large and the small. Its statements of historical fact and its digests of opinion cover all that is essential to a first study. Concise as they are, they are often extremely

¹ The Antiquity of Man, from the Point of View of Religion; in answer to Mr S. Laing's Modern Science and Modern Thought. By Hugh F. Capron. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. 98. Price 4s. 6d.

graphic. They are also fortified by very full references to authorities.¹

We refer with pleasure also to the issue of a cheaper edition of Mr Worsley's book on the *English Reformation*,² which gives in the form of a series of biographical sketches, a very readable narrative of the beginnings of the movement; and to a new edition, in large and handsome form, of the *Memoir of Robert Murray M'Cheyne*.³ This issue of a book which has been so widely valued as to take the rank of an Evangelical classic, is enriched with facsimiles of M'Cheyne's handwriting, while the venerable author has introduced some additional information on certain points. We wish the book a fresh career of usefulness in its new form.

The trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have shown a wise consideration for the convenience of many readers in reprinting, in a separate volume, five of the essays which enrich the late bishop's Commentaries.⁴ It is needless to speak of the value of these dissertations. In the case of some of the subjects which they handle (the question, e.g., of the earlier relations of Jewish and Gentile Christianity), enquiry, no doubt, has gone beyond the point which was reached at the date of their composition. But the statement of the argument from Scripture and tradition as between the Hieronymian, Helvidian, and Epiphianian views of "the brethren of the Lord," the examination of the evidence available for determining the origin, affinities, and doctrines of the Essenes, and, indeed, all the studies embraced in this volume, are universally recognised as models of careful historical investigation. Some additional notes are appended to the famous essay on the *Christian Ministry*. They consist of extracts from the Bishop's later works, and from sermons and addresses delivered on special occasions. These furnish a brief summary of his reasons for his change of opinion on the Ignatian question, and a restatement of his views on the subject of the Episcopate. They

¹ History of the Christian Church, A.D. 1-600. By the late Dr Wilhelm Moeller, Professor Ordinarius of Church History in the University of Kiel. Translated from the German by Andrew Rutherford, B.D. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 8vo, pp. xii. 545. Price 15s.

² The Dawn of the English Reformation: Its Friends and Foes. By Henry Worsley, M.A. Cheaper Edition. London: Elliot Stock. 8vo, pp. xx. 380. Price 6s.

³ Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of St Peter's Church, Dundee. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar. New Edition, with Appendices, Facsimiles of Writings, and Portrait. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. x. 648. Price 5s.

⁴ Dissertations on the Apostolic Age. Reprinted from Editions of St Paul's Epistles by the late J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. ix. 435. Price 14s.

make it clear that the conclusions which he continued to hold by on this vexed question were these: That the New Testament itself gives no "direct and indisputable notices of a localised Episcopate in the Gentile Churches"; that there is satisfactory evidence, however, of its "development in the later years of the Apostolic Age"; that this development was not "simultaneous and equal in all parts of Christendom," but was "more especially connected with the name of St John"; and that "in the early years of the second century the Episcopate was widely spread and had taken firm root, more especially in Asia Minor and in Syria."

The translation of Wendt's *Lehre Jesu*¹ is completed by the publication of the second volume. The English reader can now understand Wendt's construction of Christ's teaching as a whole, and see how far a rigorously historical reading of Christ's words finds in them a basis for the Church's doctrine of His Person, His Death, and the Last Things. The discussion of the *Testimony of Jesus to His Messiahship*, and the chapter on the *Necessity and Significance of the Death of the Messiah*, are, perhaps, the most important sections of the volume. It is in these sections that Wendt's method will be most narrowly scrutinised; and though he treats the weighty questions which arise there for the most part with great caution and ability, there are points at which he seems to come short of what Christ's words convey when they are looked at in their connections. This is the case with the question of Christ's Sonship. The Johannine utterances are taken to express "His strong religious consciousness that during His earthly life, in spite of His existence under human and earthly conditions, He stood in a continual inward fellowship of love with God, to which He attributed the highest truth and the highest value, and which He knew to have direct and fundamental connection with His Messianic calling." This is no doubt true of some of them. But as regards others the question is whether the oneness in knowledge, love, and life which they affirm between Christ and God does not infer a oneness in nature. The candour and ability of Wendt's historical interpretation of Christ's words, however, make the book an eminently informing book, even where one dissents from its conclusions. We notice with pleasure the second edition of Lipsius's Commentary on Galatians, Romans and Philippians in the *Hand-Commentar Series*. No changes of great moment have been made, but the citations have been carefully verified, and account is taken of the literature which

¹ The Teaching of Jesus. By Hans Hinrich Wendt, D.D. Translated by Rev. John Wilson, M.A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. vii. 427. Price 10s. 6d.

has appeared since the issue of the first edition.¹ Zahn's elaborate work on the *History of the New Testament Canon* proceeds apace. The section now to hand is one of the most important which have yet been given us. It carries on the enumeration and criticism of documents from Marcion's New Testament, Tatian's Diatessaron, and the spurious Pauline letters, which were dealt with in a previous part, to the Apocryphal Gospels, Apocalypses, and Acts. Reserving the work as a whole for more adequate examination afterwards, we can only say at present that the discussions which this section gives of the *Logia* question, the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, the *Acts of Paul*, the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, the close of Mark's Gospel, the statement of Irenæus on the *Alogi*, and the Fayum fragment, give it a very lively interest, and that the work as a whole is indispensable as a collection of testimonies. Materials are being furnished for a work of this kind in ever-increasing measure, and often in surprising ways. As we write, the *Two Lectures*² come to hand, in which Messrs Robinson and James give a most useful and opportune account of the fragments of the *Gospel of St Peter*, and the *Apocalypse of St Peter*, recently discovered and now published. We owe these scholars our thanks for placing the texts so promptly at our disposal, and for furnishing us with the requisite preliminary information.

Canon Newbolt's Addresses on the Fifty-first and Twenty-third Psalms³ (originally delivered in the Theological College, Ely), are written in a chaste style and devout spirit; but with slight regard to exact exegesis, and from the standpoint of an extreme Anglicanism which would rather welcome the use of the rite of *unction* in the English Church. Canon Bright's *Morality in Doctrine*⁴ is a book of a different order. It is a volume of sermons on a large number of subjects, all designed to illustrate the vital connection between creed and conduct in Christianity. They have the qualities of strength, directness, and variety. But their special value lies in their enforcement of the truth that the ethical precepts of the Gospel

¹ Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Bearbeitet von Professor D. H. J. Holtzmann, &c. Zweiter Band, zweite Abtheilung. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. viii. 254. Price. M. 4.60.

² The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter. Two Lectures on the newly recovered Fragments, together with the Greek Texts. By J. Armitage Robinson, B.D., and Montague Rhodes James, M.A. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d. or 3s. (cloth) net.

³ Penitence and Peace. By the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 151. Price 2s. 6d.

⁴ Morality in Doctrine. By William Bright, D.D. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 351. Price 7s. 6d.

have their roots in the facts and doctrines of Revelation, and draw their motive power and inspiration from these. This gives them a place of their own in recent sermonic literature, and makes them well worth reading.

The compiler of former volumes of *Practical Reflections* on the Psalter and the New Testament, has prepared a similar volume on Genesis.¹ The book takes nothing to do with criticism nor with the scientific interpretation of the passages dealt with, but limits itself to the application of the several verses to the needs of faith and worship. The writer is but partially alive to the fact that the spiritual teaching of the Old Testament can only be reached through the historical meaning. The recommendation of the book is its pious spirit and the devotional matter which it gathers from many sources round the sacred text.

In his new volume, *Through Christ to God*,² Professor Beet makes an important and seasonable contribution to the study of Christian doctrine. He combines the apologetic with the dogmatic in his exposition of Christian truth, and aims at giving a fresh statement of Systematic Theology on the basis of Biblical Theology. He assumes nothing, therefore, as regards the infallibility of Church or Scripture. He starts with no theory of inspiration, and with no *à priori* attitude to criticism. He takes the Biblical writings as they are, reads them as reliable records of the mind of the writers, and seeks in the first instance to reproduce as accurately as possible their various doctrinal conceptions. Comparing these one with another, with an eye to their differences and harmonies, he then endeavours to show how far and in what forms they are reducible to a system. The idea of the book is excellent, and it is carried out with care. The order of subject, however, is scarcely what one would look for in a treatise with this object. After certain preliminary statements on the relations between religion and theology, the revelation of an Invisible beyond and above it which is made by the Visible, the Christian documents and related subjects, Professor Beet goes at once into the examination of the topics which belong to the article of *Justification by Faith*, and proceeds from that to investigate the teaching of the New Testament on the *Death of Christ*, the *Son of God*, and the *Resurrection of Christ*. Would it not be the more natural order in an inquiry of this kind to begin by ascertaining what the New Testament doctrine is of the Person of Him who is the centre of all Christian theology, and advance from that to the consideration of what the New Testament doctrine is on

¹ *Practical Reflections upon every verse of the Book of Genesis*, with Preface by Rt. Rev. Edward King, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln. London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. 294. Price 4s. 6d.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx. 373. Price 6s. 6d.

the work of Christ and the great matters of grace? Apart from the question of method, however, the book gives a study of the main points of doctrine contained in the teaching of the New Testament writers, which presents the results of a cautious, scientific exegesis. With most of Professor Beet's conclusions on the main questions we are at one. Occasionally he oversteps the proper limit. The most noticeable instance of this occurs in a statement on the doctrine of the Trinity, which is introduced in connection with his exposition of the New Testament teaching on the relation of Christ to God. He uses here an illustration taken from the case of a firm of manufacturers in which there are three partners. Theologians of the better order have long ceased to make much use of the best of such illustrations. The old analogies of the eye and seeing, the sun and light, the fount and stream, and even Augustine's mental trinity in man, are silently dropped as fallacious or irrelevant. But of all illustrations of the mystery of the Triune Godhead, none could be more unhappy than the one employed here. This, however, is but an incidental incongruity. Nothing could be better than Professor Beet's expositions, so far as they go, of the "righteousness of God" as used by Paul, the nature of faith, the forensic sense of the Pauline term "justify," the ideas of sacrifice, propitiation and reconciliation as applied to the death of Christ. The profounder passages in the gospels, and especially the words of Christ Himself, are interpreted with reverence, according to the methods of the best exegesis. Speaking of Christ's cry of desertion on the cross, Professor Beet, it is to be noticed, explains it by the suggestion that the "shadow was no other than that cast by the guilt of man's sin over the spirit of Him who was 'made sin that we may become a righteousness of God in Him.'" The book is designed to give "the first steps to accurate study of systematic doctrinal theology." It fulfils its aim. It is interesting throughout, and should give a new attraction to the study which it seeks to promote.

Recent numbers of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* contain several articles which deserve notice. One of these is the paper *Ueber das Verhältniss des Prologs des vierten Evangeliums zum ganzen Werk* by Harnack in the third *Heft* for the year. Harnack's object is to show that the Prologue is not the key to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel, but is meant to prepare Hellenic readers for what follows; that the idea of the Logos is taken up as an idea in some degree familiar to such readers, and is employed by the writer with the view of introducing them to his doctrine of Christ; and that, when his object is accomplished, in giving his readers to understand that in Jesus Christ they see what their

Logos imports, he makes no further use of the term. Another is the elaborate paper by Herrmann in the same *Heft* under the title *Der geschichtliche Christus der Grund unseres Glaubens*. Here the man of religion is described as the man who is raised by divine revelation to fellowship with God; and this revelation is defined to be neither the *reason* by which the rationalist stands, nor Scripture as a book presenting divine truth with authority, according to orthodox views, but the historical manifestation of Christ Himself. The life and character of Christ are self-evidencing. This "historical manifestation of Jesus" is the one divine revelation, the one final authority for Christians; and whoever comes to Jesus in order to find God, finds in Him the way to the Father. Our obedience is due to this historical Christ, but when that obedience is given and faith is exercised, it also becomes the assurance to us that this Christ is actively near us, and awaits us in the higher life, being Himself exalted. A third paper of importance is one by Stade in the fifth *Heft* on *Die Messianische Hoffnung im Psalter*, a paper richest and most rewarding in its acute and sometimes brilliant exegesis of individual passages. In addition to other scholarly papers, of which one on *Delbrück's Vedic Syntax*, bearing the signature W. D. Whitney, is an excellent example, the *American Journal of Philology* (Vol. xiii. 3) contains a new study of *The Song of Songs* by Mr Russell Martineau. Mr Martineau detects various corruptions in the text. He adopts several of Rabbi Köhler's emendations in chap. i. 2-4. He deals with chap. iii. 1-5 as a passage constructed by an interpolator out of chap. v. 6. He accepts in the main Graetz's corrections in chap. iv. 10, 11. He regards chap. vi. 10-12 as made up of three verses which have no connection with each other, and attempts to restore them to the places from which they have been torn. On the ground of the free use of Greek words, the remarkable references to Greek culture and art, the bucolic character of the poetry, and its joyous tone, he connects the *Song of Songs* with Alexandria, and refers it to the prosperous reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (B.C. 247-221)—more particularly to the period B.C. 230-218, when Joseph the Jew managed the provinces of Judea, Samaria, Phoenicia, and part of Syria so "skilfully as to restore prosperity to these previously oppressed countries."

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October 1892 Dr Selah Merrill gives a very useful resumé of *Discoveries in Jerusalem*. He refers to the chief books dealing with the Holy City during the "twenty-nine years between Dr Robinson's visit and that of Sir Charles Warren," and notices the main points which have been discussed during that period, and the new turn given to the question about the Holy Sepulchre. He gives his own opinion in favour of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto as the place of the Crucifixion. In

the November and December numbers of the *Expository Times* the discussion on the Revised Version is continued. Mr Pinches deals with Genesis ii. 4, 5, 8, 9, in the light of Assyrian and Babylonian literature; and among other papers of interest we have Professor Kennedy's *Notes from the Oriental Congress*, Professor Candlish's exposition of the *Notion of Divine Covenants in the Bible*, Canon Driver's reply to Professor Sayce, and Professor Iverach's study of *Thomas Hill Green*.

In the November number of the *Homiletic Review* Professor Milligan begins a study of Heb. ix. 16, 17, contending for the sense of *covenant* for *διαθήκη*, on the ground that throughout the New Testament this is the true and proper meaning of *διαθήκη*; that the same or nearly the same is the case with its use in the LXX.; that this sense is exactly what the readers of the Epistle would expect, in view of the fact that the practice of making wills was then "almost wholly, if not wholly, Gentile"; and that the context favours it. In the September number of *Biblia* Dr Grant of Cairo concludes his paper on the *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, in which he deals with the distinction between the *Ka* and the *Ba*, and with the Egyptian ideas generally regarding what we term body, soul, and spirit. The same number gives an interesting account and a metrical version of the "Song of the Harper," the funeral hymn supposed to be sung in memory of Neferhoteph. The two chief articles (both of interest) in the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* for November are one by Charles Favre on *La Théologie de Julius Kaftan*, and another by Alfred Porret on *Trois vies de Jésus*.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

- WARRING, Ch. B. *Genesis i. and Modern Science*. New York: Hunt & Eaton. 8vo, pp. 245. \$1.
- JOHNSON, G. E. *The Book of Joshua*. With notes and explanations. London: Nisbet. Fcap. pp. 104. 1s.
- LOTZ, W. *Geschichte u. Offenbarung im Alten Testament*. 2. durch e. Register verm. Ausg. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. ix. 358. M. 6.80.
- WINCKLER, H. *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*. Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer. 8vo, pp. viii. 192. M. 7.50.
- RIEHM, E. C. A. *Handwörterbuch d. biblischen Altertums f. gebildete Bibelleser*. 2 Aufl. besorgt v. F. Baethgen. 1 Lfg., Bielefeld: Velhagen u. Klasing. 8vo, pp. viii. 80. M. 1.
- WELLHAUSEN, J. *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*. 5 Heft. Die kleinen Propheten, übers. m. Noten. Berlin: G. Reimer. 8vo, pp. 213. M. 7.

- HENNE AM RHYN, O. Kulturgeschichte d. jüdischen Volkes von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart. 2 Aufl. d. Kulturgeschichte d. Judentums. Jena: Costenoble. 8vo, pp. xv. 523. M. 10.
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CONTENTS.

		PAGE
KIRKPATRICK'S THE DOCTRINE OF THE PROPHETS	By Professor W. T. DAVISON, M.A., Birmingham, . . .	119
STEVENS' THE PAULINE THEOLOGY	By Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D., Edinburgh, . . .	125
HAHN'S DAS EVANGELIUM LUCAS ERKLÄRT	By Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D., Edinburgh, . . .	128
SCHRADER'S KEILINSCHRIFTLICHE BIBLIOTHEK	By Rev. Professor OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., Cheshunt College, . . .	130
WATSON'S THE BOOK GENESIS A TRUE HISTORY	By A. A. BEVAN, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, . . .	138
FREIMANN'S DES GREGORIUS ABULFARAG SCHOLIEN ZUM BUCHE DANIEL	By A. A. BEVAN, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, . . .	140
COOKE'S THE HISTORY AND SONG OF DEBORAH	By A. A. BEVAN, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, . . .	141
KAMPHAUSEN'S DAS BUCH DANIEL UND DIE NEUERE GESCHICHTSFORSCHUNG	By A. A. BEVAN, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, . . .	142
BEYSLAG'S NEUTESTAMENTLICHE THEOLOGIE	By Professor W. P. DICKSON, D.D., University of Glasgow, . . .	142
KATTENBUSCH'S LEHRBUCH DER VERGLEICHENDE CONFESSIONSKUNDE	By Professor A. STEWART, D.D., University of Aberdeen, . . .	156
SCHANZ'S A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY	By Professor A. B. BRUCE, D.D., Glasgow, . . .	163
SCHAFF'S THE SWISS REFORMATION	By Rev. C. A. SCOTT, B.A. Cantab., . . .	165
SETH'S HEGELIANISM AND PERSONALITY	By Professor W. R. SORLEY, M.A., Cardiff, . . .	170
M'LACHLAN'S REFORMED LOGIC ULRICH'S SYSTEM DER FORMALEN UND REALEN LOGIK	By Professor W. R. SORLEY, M.A., Cardiff, 172	
ROLFES' DIE ARISTOTELISCHE AUFFASSUNG VOM VERHÄLTNISSE GOTTES ZUR WELT UND ZUM MENSCHEN	By Professor JAMES IVERACH, D.D., Aberdeen, . . .	173
TRAUB'S DIE SITTICHE WELTORDNUNG	By Professor JAMES IVERACH, D.D., Aberdeen, . . .	177
TROELTSCH'S VERNUNFT UND OFFENBARUNG	By Professor JAMES CANDLISH, D.D., Edinburgh, . . .	179
FRANK'S DOGMATISCHE STUDIEN	By Professor JAMES CANDLISH, D.D., Glasgow, . . .	180

Contents.

	PAGE
STRACK UND ZOECKLER'S KURZGEFASSTER KOMMENTAR	By Rev. Professor A. R. S. KENNEDY, M.A., University of Aberdeen, . . . 182
RYLE'S EZRA AND NEHEMIAH	By Rev. Professor A. R. S. KENNEDY, M.A., University of Aberdeen, . . . 184
SPENCER'S DID MOSES WRITE THE PENTATEUCH AFTER ALL?	By Rev. Professor A. R. S. KENNEDY, M.A., University of Aberdeen, . . . 186
REUSS' DAS ALTE TESTAMENT—DIE PROPHETEN	By Rev. Professor W. H. BENNETT, M.A., Cheshunt College, . . . 188
WALKER'S THREE CENTURIES OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE	By JOHN ADAMS, M.A., B.Sc., Aberdeen . 191
SCHULTZ'S OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY	By Professor S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D., Aberdeen, . . . 194
CAIRD'S EVOLUTION OF RELIGION	By Principal A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., Mansfield College, Oxford, . . . 198
THAYER'S BOOKS AND THEIR USE	By Principal D. W. SIMON, D.D., Edinburgh, . . . 206
PARKHURST'S THREE GATES ON A SIDE STALKER'S THE FOUR MEN SINCLAIR'S THE SERVANT OF CHRIST	} By Professor JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Aberdeen, . . . 207
NOTICES	By the EDITOR, . . . 210
MAYOR'S COMMENTARY ON JAMES ; WHYTE'S CHARACTERS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WILLIAM LAW ; BLAKE'S HOW TO READ THE PROPHETS, PART III.—JEREMIAH ; STOKES' THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, VOL. II. ; THE EXPOSITOR, VOL. VI. ; THE SERMON YEAR-BOOK ; ILLINGWORTH'S UNIVERSITY AND CATHEDRAL SERMONS ; REICHEL'S CATHEDRAL AND UNIVERSITY SERMONS ; INNES' CHURCH AND STATE ; ROGERS' THE SUPERHUMAN ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE ; BROWN'S SCRIPTURE BAPTISM ; THE BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATOR—2 TIMOTHY, TITUS, PHILEMON ; CANDLISH'S BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF SIN ; ROBSON'S HINDUISM AND ITS RELATIONS TO CHRISTIANITY ; MATHESON'S DISTINCTIVE MESSAGES OF THE OLD RELIGIONS ; CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE BIBLE.	
RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE	216

The Doctrine of the Prophets.

The Warburtonian Lectures for 1886-1890. By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892. Sm. 8vo, pp. xvii., 540. Price 6s.

It has been debated whether there is likely to be, or whether there ought to be, an English school of Biblical criticism distinct from, while in some respects akin to, the prevailing school of critics in Germany. Put in this abstract form, the question is probably futile. German critics are far from being all of one type; English scholars differ widely, not only in actual opinion, but in temper and point of view. But it may well be contended that in the great field of Biblical study English scholarship has an important work of its own to do, in testing the results arrived at by erudite theorists in the land of theory and erudition; filtering them, so to speak, by causing them to pass through another stratum of theological thought, sifting them by applying tests derived from a different national habit of mind. Probable evidence, often of a highly speculative and doubtful character, determines the decision of a large number of questions in Old Testament criticism. The dates of documents are often decided by the critic's views as to the history of religious thought, and his views as to the history of religion by the (problematical) dates of documents. In such cases "temper" and judgment become of the highest importance. And while an overwhelming proportion of original work in Biblical theology and criticism is done in Germany, English scholars may fairly claim that by a certain sanity and sobriety of judgment, combined with a full and accurate knowledge of the facts, they are contributing an element in the determination of Biblical questions as important in its place as the power to analyse documents or to frame new hypotheses.

Those who hold with the writer that Biblical work marked by blended candour and soberness is particularly valuable just now, will welcome the Warburtonian Lectures of Professor Kirkpatrick. The Cambridge Professor has already given a taste of his quality in his "Divine Library of the Old Testament," and in his commentary on a portion of the Psalter in the Cambridge Bible for Schools. But the present volume forms a more substantial contribution to Old Testament theology, and enables us more fully to judge of the author's views and methods. As to the latter, we may say, that the English student could hardly desire a better Introduction to the pro-

phetical books than this volume furnishes. After an introductory lecture on the study of the prophets in general, the prophecies are taken separately. In each case an account is given of the prophet himself, where that is possible; a summary, clear and sufficient, is given of the contents of the book; the date of the work is discussed fully, but not in undue detail; the connection of the prophecies with the circumstances of the time is fully explained; the teaching of the book in question is gathered up in a few interesting and suggestive pages; and, in most cases, some words are added on the fulfilment of the prophecies, at least as to the general direction in which fulfilment was to be looked for.

It is in this last respect that Professor Kirkpatrick's work will most disappoint a large number of English readers. This last series of Warburtonian Lectures differs from its predecessors, if not in the mode of handling the subject of prophecy, yet in the proportionate importance attached to its several parts. It is nearly forty years since the publication of Davison's "Discourses on Prophecy," which has been among Anglicans a standard book on the subject almost ever since, whilst Edersheim's "Prophecy in relation to the Messiah" is hardly ten years old. A comparison of Professor Kirkpatrick's point of view with these, his predecessors in the Lectureship, reveals points of marked difference, as well as of similarity. To-day there is amongst careful students of prophecy substantial agreement with Professor Kirkpatrick's view that "the evidential value of the Old Testament to the mind of the present day rests not merely or mainly on the fulfilment of specific and circumstantial prophecies, but on the whole drift and tendency of a manifold and complex preparation, in history, in life, in thought, pointing to an end which it foreshadowed, but could not describe, for which it prepared, but which it could not produce" (Pref., p. x.). Consequently, the greater portion of the book is devoted to an exhibition of the teaching of the Prophets in relation to their own times. It would, however, be unfair to the author to represent him as minimising the element of the supernatural. His own position is that of "those who, while they advocate the most searching critical and historical study of the Old Testament, retain a firm belief that it is the inspired record of a unique divine revelation to the world." And, as he himself says, if a study of the work of the prophets in relation to their own times increases our conviction of the *naturalness* of prophecy, it increases also our conviction of its *supernaturalness*. "Adaptation not less than marvel is a characteristic of divine working, and it is by studying the ways of God in history that we come to recognise His footprints."

In his decisions upon disputed questions of date or of the unity of the several books, Professor Kirkpatrick holds an intermediate

position between the right and left wings of critics, occupying, perhaps we may say, the left centre. He is conservative in his conclusions on the vexed question of the date of the book of Joel. He would fix the date somewhere during the early part of the reign of Joash, between 837 and 817 B.C., and the short work of Obadiah he places still earlier, supposing the capture of Jerusalem referred to in it to be the plundering of the city by Philistines and Arabians, B.C. 848-844. The composite origin of "Isaiah" is of course maintained. The first thirty-nine chapters are held by Professor Kirkpatrick to include "four distinct books, some at least of which show evident traces of composite origin." These are: A. Chaps. i-xii., forming a collection of Isaianic prophecies ranging from the times of Jotham to Hezekiah, which probably circulated separately. B. Chaps. xiii.-xxvii., which contain some non-Isaianic prophecies, chaps. xv. and xvi. forming an older prophecy, ch. xiii. 1-xiv. 23 being written by a prophet of the Exile, and the apocalyptic section, xxiv.-xxvii., being probably not completed till after the return from the Exile. The third book, C. (chs. xxviii.-xxxv.), contains a series of Isaianic prophecies of the time of Hezekiah, with a supplement, added towards the close of the Exile. The historical section, D. (xxxvi.-xxxix.), cannot, in its present form, be the work of Isaiah, but "it is a question whether it may not have been derived, mediately or immediately, from the chronicle of Hezekiah's reign which Isaiah wrote." The later chapters, xl.-lxvi., are described as "a series of prophecies addressed by an exile in Babylon to his fellow-exiles in the last decennium of the captivity." The passage lvi. 9-lvii. 10 is "taken from some older prophet, a contemporary, perhaps, of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; it is not, however, an interpolation, but is introduced by the author as a description of the causes which have brought Israel into its present plight." The unity of Micah and of Habakkuk is defended at some length in separate notes, but Zech. ix.-xiv. is pronounced by Professor Kirkpatrick, in common with most critics, to be distinguished from chaps. i.-viii. by marked characteristics, chaps. ix.-xi. differing almost as much from chaps. xii.-xiv. He fixes, however, the latter chapters as well as the former in the post-exilic period, and holds that they "belong to the same class of apocalyptic-eschatological prophecy as Isa. xxiv.-xxvii., and may, with considerable probability, be assigned to the first sixty or seventy years after the Return," thus standing "in their right position between Zechariah and Malachi."

It is impossible here to discuss Professor Kirkpatrick's views in detail. Suffice it to say, that on those points in which he has a majority of modern critics against him, as in the case of the date of Joel, he makes out a good case, moderately but firmly stated. The language of Joel iii. 1, he urges, does not necessarily refer to exile, while it

occurs also in Amos ix. 14, and Hos. vi. 11. The silence of Joel about the northern kingdom may be due, "not to the fact that the kingdom had ceased to exist, but to the limited circle of Joel's interests." His particularism "may be due to his early date, rather than to the advance of a spirit of Judaism." The argument from the language of iii. 6 concerning the sale of Israelite slaves to Ionian Greeks is met by showing that the Phœnicians maintained intercourse with the Ionian Greeks from the earliest times, and "Joel would select the Ionians for mention as the remotest region to which his countrymen had been carried away." As a matter of fact, the arguments for a very early or a very late date are balanced one against the other in a way which makes determination very difficult. Each view can be well defended on the positive side, but each is exposed to objections which it is hard satisfactorily to meet. On the whole, we are inclined, with Professor Kirkpatrick, to the earlier date.

The above is but one illustration of the author's disposition to allow to tradition its fair weight as evidence, where no satisfactory reasons can be shown for setting it on one side. It needs considerable courage at present for a critic to concede so much weight to tradition, just as a century ago he was a bold man who ventured to assail its authority. But Professor Kirkpatrick's arguments against the disintegration of Micah proposed by Stade and Kuenen (p. 228), his criticisms of Duhm's view of Ezekiel (p. 342), and of Stade's arbitrary judgment as to the Messianic interpretation of Isaiah liii. (p. 394), and his arguments against the view of Schrader and others concerning the date of the building of the Temple (p. 432) show that he is quite able to hold his own against names of high authority. Of special value in this connection is his vindication of the true character of the prophets against the naturalistic school of critics. These latter view the religion of Israel not as a divine revelation, but as a natural development. They represent the prophets of the eighth century as "the founders of ethical monotheism." Professor Kirkpatrick shows that "the careful study of the writings of these prophets affords the most convincing refutation of this theory. If anything is clear from their writings, it is that they do not regard themselves as innovators, but as reformers" (p. 26). And again, of Amos, "He, in common with the other prophets of the eighth century, is a reformer, not a founder. If the people had no knowledge of the moral demands of Jehovah, how could they justly be blamed for disregarding them? Amos refers to prophets who had preceded him, and betrays no sense of discontinuity between their teaching and his own, see ch. ii. 11, iii. 7" (p. 102). So of Deutero-Isaiah, "It is not that he has any new truth to proclaim about Jehovah; but just as the truths con-

cerning the Holy Trinity were gradually defined and made clear, as the need for definition arose from the propagation of false statements, so now this prophet of the Exile, for the needs of his time and his audience, brings out into a new relief and prominence the great truth of absolute monotheism, the truth that Jehovah, the God of Israel, was the one only God who created the world, and preserved its order, and controlled the events of history for His own purposes" (p. 371). Surely this is the reasonable inference from the language of the prophets. It is quite possible to believe that God gradually revealed Himself to His servants under the Old Covenant, and that progress in theological thought is discernible in the Old Testament, without reading into the writings of the prophets a meaning of which the words are not naturally susceptible, in order to show that the doctrine of monotheism was but a late "development" of earlier forms of belief, essentially polytheistic, though euphemistically described as "monolatrous." The latest volume of Hibbert Lectures by Mr C. G. Montefiore is an illustration of the way in which the language of the prophets may be wrested to support a theory brought to their writings, not found in them.

We should have been glad to linger over Professor Kirkpatrick's exposition of the "Servant of Jehovah." But in this portion of his work, as in most of his remarks on the fulfilment of prophecy, the writer hardly appears to advantage. Clear and definite in his explanation of the circumstances under which a prophet wrote, when he comes to expound his relation to the far future, Professor Kirkpatrick writes with hesitation and apparent uncertainty. In answering the question concerning Isa. liii., "Of whom speaketh the prophet this?" he says, "To attempt precise definition may perhaps be too great a refinement, a drawing of distinctions which would not have been present to the prophet's mind. Person or personification, this at least is the culmination of the idea of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah, whether he expected the features of the portrait to be realised in a single individual, or in the restored and purified nation." But "whatever may have been the precise idea which the prophet's portrait of the suffering and triumphant Servant of Jehovah conveyed to himself and his contemporaries—and it is impossible for us to tell how far they were allowed to see into the mysterious truth which it foreshadowed—it is impossible for us who read it in the light of its fulfilment to doubt that it was intended by the Holy Spirit to point forward to Christ. In Him alone it receives its complete explanation" (pp. 392-4). We should have been glad to see the lines here laid down more consistently maintained in the author's remarks elsewhere concerning the fulfilment of prophecy. How much the prophet or his con-

temporaries could understand of the ultimate scope of the words spoken or written under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, is a question which we are, of course, bound to set aside as insoluble. The business of the interpreter is with the words uttered, and where these, fairly interpreted, demand an explanation which cannot be found in the circumstances of the prophet's own time, but find adequate and striking fulfilment under the New Covenant, this should be frankly recognised. In several cases (the Immanuel prophecy of Isaiah vii., for example), Professor Kirkpatrick can hardly be said to have done this. The exegetical problem is often far from easy, and the author has given but scanty space to its elucidation. His vagueness and apparent uncertainty may spring from the fact that his own views are not clear or fully formed, yet in places he indicates the general direction in which the several particular solutions are to be sought. "Fulfilment," he wisely remarks, on p. 16, "is related to prophecy rather as the plant with all its beauty of leaf and flower and fruit is related to the seed from which it has sprung. Prophecy contains the germ which is to spring up in a new form in the fulfilment: the principle which will, in due time, receive its legitimate development. The inner idea, and not the form in which that idea is conveyed, is the essential part of a prophecy. The form in which the idea is embodied is largely human, determined by the conditions of the prophet's age, and varying from time to time accordingly. The fulfilment, which is the evolution of the essential idea, is greater than the prophecy. It unites elements which existed separately, the combination of which, apart from the fulfilment, could not have been foreseen."

We so thoroughly agree in the principles here laid down, that we were the more disappointed at the way in which they are from time to time applied (or not applied) in Professor Kirkpatrick's pages. A firmer hold of the true relation between the Old and New Covenants might have enabled him to speak more definitely and firmly on some questions of interpretation and fulfilment. But there can be little doubt that he indicates the lines on which the subject of prophecy should be handled in future by the apologist. The spectacle of the realisation of the Divine purpose, as outlined by the prophets, and wonderfully accomplished in Jesus Christ, and the religion of which He was the Founder, does not form the kind of argument with which to confute a sceptic. It is powerful after its own kind, but as Professor Kirkpatrick says, "It will not compel belief, any more than any other spiritual truth, but it will confirm belief." Those who may be disappointed with this volume on a first reading will, we feel sure, on further examination appreciate its sobriety and caution, which never degenerates

into timidity, the clearness and force with which the doctrine of the prophets in relation to their own times is analysed and presented, and the hints given as to the way in which a richer and ampler fulfilment of their words was to be expected than was possible within the limits of the Old Testament dispensation. As a contribution to Old Testament Theology, all the more valuable because it is soberly progressive rather than startling and revolutionary, Professor Kirkpatrick's volume is to be heartily welcomed, and we trust it will be widely read.

W. T. DAVISON.

The Pauline Theology: A Study of the Origin and Correlation of the Doctrinal Teachings of the Apostle Paul.

By George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Prof. of New Testament Criticism in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 367. Price 10s.

EVERYONE interested in New Testament theology will extend a cordial welcome to this study of the teaching of Paul. Not only is it the first attempt by an English-speaking theologian to give an ordered exposition of Paul's thought—for Dr Irons' work need scarcely be reckoned an exception—but it is an attempt which is eminently successful; and while it will certainly stimulate the study of Paul, it may also somewhat discourage the publication of competing works on the same theme. And yet the subject has so many ramifications, and opens on all hands questions of such importance, that no individual writer can possibly exhaust inquiry.

The aim which Professor Stevens has set before him in this volume is "to inquire into the genesis of Paul's leading thoughts, so far as their origin may be the subject of historical inquiry; to define critically their content and relation to each other, and thus to present a systematic account of his teaching upon the great themes which he considers." To prepare himself for this work Professor Stevens has evidently not been content to make a careful exegetical study of the literary remains of the apostle, but has also given abundant attention to the very extensive literature which has gathered round Paul; so that the reader is made acquainted, not merely with the author's own conclusions, but with all other opinions regarding the apostle's teaching which are worth recording. This is judiciously done, so that, without the smallest approach to parade of learning, and without in the slightest degree overburdening his pages, the author furnishes us with an adequate text-book of the whole subject. This indeed is the character of the book, which evidently proceeds from a teacher who can independently

form and maintain his own opinions, but who is yet sufficiently modest to understand that it is not only interesting but important for the scholar to know that other opinions have been held by competent inquirers.

In expounding the system of Paul, Professor Stevens exhibits not only ample knowledge of his subject, but marked ability. He possesses fairness of mind and soundness of judgment, and a faculty of lucid exposition. There is nothing hasty or crude, nothing of the partisan or polemic, in the volume. Not so original as Sabatier or Pfleiderer, Professor Stevens is as independent as either, and gives us on the whole a surer hold of Paul's thought. Without the passages of brilliant exegesis which delight the reader of Pfleiderer, the volume from Yale carries conviction by its equable sobriety and insight, and it may fairly be ranked with the very best Pauline literature.

One or two particular excellences may be specified, as well as one or two points in which, perhaps, readers will disagree with Professor Stevens. It is an evidence of the growth of historical criticism that the writer is careful not to ascribe to Paul a fully developed system of theology, and is alive to the fact that the religious and practical interest had often more to do with Paul's utterances than the purely theological or speculative. This general idea he carries into detail. Thus, at p. 150, we find him saying, "It is wholly improbable that the apostle ever set before himself the definite purpose of explaining the origin of sin." And at p. 199, in speaking of the person of Christ, he says, "It is wholly improbable that [Paul] ever applied his mind to the problem of defining the relation to each other of the divine and human elements in his person. The needs of Paul's time did not demand such an effort." Such cautions are not superfluous.

We miss in Professor Stevens' volume what is desiderated in our day, an exposition of the relation of the teaching of Paul to the teaching of Jesus. We also miss what, perhaps, we have no right to expect, any hints in aid of the reconciliation of Paul's teaching with the teachings of science, philosophy, and criticism. At one or two points in his exposition Professor Stevens seems to reflect his own ideas upon Paul. Especially in his handling of the Atonement this is discernible. In the chapter devoted to the Doctrine of Redemption he presents a very carefully considered exposition of the significance of Christ's death; an exposition which should bring light to perplexed minds. But it would seem as if Professor Stevens' own theory had at one or two points prevented him from giving us an unbiassed interpretation of the words of Paul. When, *e.g.*, he says that "there is no such statement as that Christ died instead of (*ἀντὶ*) us," he affirms what is no doubt literally true, but

he forgets that certain phrases of Paul, in which that preposition does not occur, must yet be interpreted in its sense. When Paul says (2 Cor. v. 14), "If one died for all, then all died," this is intelligible only when we understand that the one who died, died as the substitute of all. Again, Professor Stevens says, "If the statement that He 'became a curse for us,' is urged as necessarily meaning that He came under a personal sense of God's displeasure—that is, was punished by literally suffering the penal infliction of the curse due to sin—it must then be said that the kindred phrase, 'God made Him to be sin for us,' is to be as rigidly interpreted, and cannot mean less than that God made Him a sinner,—a meaning which is, however, excluded by the next phrase, 'who knew no sin.'" This could not have been written had Professor Stevens remembered that a sacrifice for sin was among the Hebrews sometimes called "sin," as in Leviticus iv. 29.

In expounding the Pauline doctrine of sin, the same reluctance to accept the natural meaning of Paul's words is apparent. "As all who by faith enter the spiritual order of Christ receive from Him the gracious gift of reconciliation and life, so all, by their race-connection, have received from the natural head of the race a taint of nature, a bent or bias toward sin, so that in principle the sinfulness of all may be said to be included in the sin of Adam." But a hereditary taint of nature is not all that Paul's words imply, nor all that the parallel of the two Adams requires. It is liability to punishment that Paul affirms; and, as Weber brings out in his *Palestinian Theology*, it was rather the hereditary guilt, if such an expression is allowable, than the hereditary taint, which the Jewish theologians emphasised.

At the same time every student of Paul will cordially subscribe what Professor Stevens says regarding the use to be made of Paul's expressions, and the inferences to be drawn from them. Neither the expressions used by the apostle nor his modes of thought regarding some of the subjects he handles, may precisely fit the moulds into which the most aggressive and influential thought of our day is being poured; and in order to preserve the substance of Paul's teaching, its form may require to be altered. But our first business is to ascertain what exactly Paul does teach, what these expressions meant for him, and what inferences he himself drew from them. Professor Stevens does much to promote this work, but occasionally his account of Paul's meaning seems coloured by non-Pauline ideas. This, however, while it no doubt somewhat lessens the value of the volume, will not prevent it from being accepted as a standard work on the subject, and, on the whole, as the truest presentation we have of the Pauline theology.

MARCUS DODS.

Das Evangelium des Lucas erklärt.

Von Dr G. L. Hahn, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Königl. Universität zu Breslau. Erster Band. 8vo, pp. xv., 635. Price M. 12.

NATURALLY Professor Hahn has not written a commentary on the Gospel of Luke in ignorance of the fact that he has been anticipated by Meyer, Godet, Weiss, Holtzmann, and Schanz. Notwithstanding this abundance of interpretation, he considers that his own undertaking is far from superfluous. He believes that he can not only amend previous interpretations of individual passages, but that he can shed fresh light on the authorship and significance of the gospel as a whole. The promise of new views, made in the preface, is at once and somewhat startlingly fulfilled by his pronouncing it a mistake to suppose that this gospel is from the hand of Luke. He has indeed been anticipated even in this, but only by critics who proceed on the idea that criticism means the rejection of all tradition, however far back it runs. Professor Hahn maintains that the testimony of the second century in favour of the Lucan authorship is of no weight when balanced against the evidence he offers that the gospel was written not by a Gentile but by a Jew. This evidence he very fully and ingeniously states, and certainly, in the course of his discussion, he adduces much that deserves more consideration than it has yet received. He shows, *e.g.*, that the preface to the gospel is not such an immaculate model of classical Greek as it has sometimes been proclaimed to be. He maintains, indeed, that the third gospel is the most Hebraistic in style of the four, and under this head he collects in a convenient digest its Hebraisms in language. Passing to the substance of the gospel, Professor Hahn attempts to prove, from the system of thought underlying the narration, that the writer must have been a Jew.

As regards the sources of the gospel, Professor Hahn's views are equally revolutionary. The writer was a contemporary of Jesus, and was himself familiar with the events he records. He depended on his own reminiscences and those of the apostles, and where there was need of further investigation he consulted those living sources of information to which he had access. He made no use of the gospel of Mark or Matthew, and very slight use of the "many" who had preceded him in the work of gospel-writing. There was one of the "many" which the writer of the third gospel chiefly used, and which afterwards became the ground-work of Mark's gospel. This seems only a roundabout way of saying that Mark was the ground-work of Luke.

Professor Hahn's own opinion is that Silas was the author of the

gospel usually attributed to Luke. He does not, as at least one other critic has done, attempt to identify the two men (*lucus=silva*). But he holds that this ascription of the gospel to Silas is the hypothesis which best satisfies the facts. Its weak points are obvious. Not only has it to thrust somewhat rudely aside the early tradition, but, further, it requires that the Book of *Acts* be also ascribed to Silas, and the ascription of the "we passages" to Silas is a result which criticism can never accept. Why, too, does he not compare the style of 1 Peter with that of the third gospel?

But if the Introduction contains much doubtful matter, there will not be two opinions regarding the Commentary. It is acute, alert, accurate, significant; thoroughly worth publishing in addition to all that has already been accumulated around this gospel. It proceeds upon the Greek text, and even in points of textual criticism offers one or two hints which prove at any rate that the author is accustomed to weigh evidence and understands what constitutes textual evidence. In regard to lexical and grammatical points, while scholarship is rather hidden than obtruded, and while Professor Hahn has not transferred to his pages references which are quite as accessible elsewhere, it is everywhere apparent that here also all that is worthy of consideration has been present to the writer's mind. The strength of the Commentary, however, lies in his thoroughgoing treatment of the substance of the narrative. Constantly the outline of an incident is sharpened, or the significance of a saying intensified, by bringing out the true meaning or bearing of a single word or clause. Where he seems to err, it is never in favour of liberal thought, but always in the conservative interest. He does not scruple to ascribe to Jesus a degree of insight and foreknowledge in his ordinary dealings with men, which some will think impinges upon the belief that He had a truly human mind, and that the Incarnation was real. Instances of this tendency are found in the author's treatment of the Nain incident, and of the miracle wrought on the way to Jairus' house. Sometimes, too, his ingenuity betrays him, as in dealing with the Baptist's motive in sending his disciples to inquire whether Jesus were the Christ. But notwithstanding one or two blemishes, which to other eyes may seem merits, this Commentary must be ranked with the very best we have on the third gospel. It is very animated, quite independent, full of suggestion and interest, and every reader will eagerly look for the second volume. It may be added that the book, as a typographical product, is excellent, the page large, and the printing clear.

MARCUS DODS.

Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.

Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung in Verbindung mit Dr L. Abel, Dr C. Bezold, Dr P. Jensen, Dr F. E. Peiser, Dr H. Winckler herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. Band III. Berlin: Reuter. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, M. 14.

THE third volume, just completed, of Professor Schrader's "Cuneiform Library" will be heartily welcomed by all Old Testament scholars who are interested in the documents and civilisation of empires so closely bound up with the fortunes and historic evolution of ancient Israel and of Judaism. Before dealing with the special contents of the volumes before us, it will be of some advantage to our readers if we here indicate in brief outline the scope of the entire work and the series of monumental records that it contains. Its object is to present the reader with all the most important cuneiform inscriptions of ancient Assyria and Babylonia arranged in chronological order. The documents are not reproduced in the original cuneiform. That would not be possible without enormously increasing the cost of the work, and thus making it practically inaccessible as well as unintelligible to most students. In addition to this, it would be, to a large extent, a repetition of the work already done in Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia." It is, of course, most important that these cuneiform texts should be reproduced with the utmost possible care and accuracy, and it is necessary that the work accomplished should be submitted to the most thorough and exacting revision. This task, however, is being executed with the greatest conscientiousness, and doubtless additional matter will from time to time be included. But the series of volumes which Dr Schrader is so ably editing, with the aid of eminent Assyrian scholars, has a very different object. It is not intended to appeal only to the cuneiform expert, but also to the larger class of Biblical students, or, as the notice in the German expresses it, "even to non-Assyriological readers, especially to historical students and theologians, as well as to jurists and lovers of antiquity." With this purpose in view the left-hand page of the book is throughout occupied with the transcribed text of the Assyrian and Babylonian documents, while the right-hand page is devoted to the translation. The work appeals through the latter to the general reader, while the former is of great value to Semitic scholars, and also to students of Assyrian who wish to have as accurate a representation of the original language of the cuneiform documents as possible. Of course,

the latter will have to refer to Rawlinson's or other works for verification, or better still, to the monuments themselves. Nevertheless, they will be glad to have the transcribed text presented in this neat and accessible form.

With regard to the method of transcription, it is the same as that which is adopted by Dr Schrader in his "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament." The cuneiform script consists, as is well known, of phonograms and ideograms. The former consist of syllabic signs, the latter of signs for ideas or conceptions, originally graphic symbols. In addition to these there are ideographic symbols, which are determinatives, *i.e.*, indicate that the word which immediately follows (or in some cases precedes) is an individual, a deity, a king, a country, a place, an instrument of wood, etc. In these pages the determinative ideogram is always indicated by placing its equivalent in brackets. When the sign is an ideogram it is nearly always represented by the corresponding Semitic Babylonian word written without any break, *i.e.*, without hyphens. In those cases, however, in which the actual Assyro-Babylonian word, to be read for the ideogram or ideograms, is not definitely known, the phonetic, *i.e.*, syllabic equivalents are substituted and written in capital letters. In most cases, however, the word, whether Akkado-Sumerian or Assyro-Babylonian, is broken up into syllables printed in ordinary type and united by hyphens, each syllable being represented by a corresponding cuneiform phonetic sign in the original inscription. The reader soon recognises that a syllable is frequently represented by two syllabic signs, the first ending and the second beginning with the same vowel. Thus *u-zu-un-šu* = *uzunšu* "his mind." Also, a long vowel is usually expressed in Assyrian by the addition of the sign for that vowel to the syllabic sign representing an open syllable ending with that vowel. Thus *ši-ma-a* = *šimā*. Such were some of the devices of this most ancient script as it gradually emerged from the ideographic through the syllabic to the alphabetic stage. The mode of transcription pursued in these volumes enables us to recover, to a certain extent, the original cuneiform text, especially with the help of Professor Delitzsch's excellent sign-lists, in the well-known "Assyrische Lesestücke," to aid the memory when it fails. Of course, in a large number of cases the reading of the cuneiform text is doubtful, and here a reference to originals will become necessary. It should be observed, however, that the transcribed texts in these volumes are very fully annotated, and all difficulties of readings are set forth with brief references and suggestions.

It is a signal merit in the transcribed texts of these volumes that the same method is consistently followed throughout, *viz.*, that of its editor, Professor Schrader. Cuneiform, like Arabic, gives distinct representation to only the three main vowel sounds, *a, i, u*.

But of *i* there are two varieties, which Schrader represents by *i* and *î* respectively, while other scholars, *e.g.*, Sayce, Delitzsch, regard *î* as representative of *e*, which they substitute. Moreover, in other cases it is quite uncertain whether *i* or *e* should be read. Also, Dr Schrader takes no account of the different modes of representing *u* in cuneiform, and the principle which has in general been adopted, is to employ diacritical marks sparingly. Thus a vowel is marked as long only when the length is quite certainly indicated in Assyrian by the repetition of the vowel in the manner before described, *e.g.*, *ra-bu-u* = *rabû*, "great."

Of the varied gutturals and sibilants of a Semitic language the cuneiform is unable to give adequate representation. Accordingly, these must be partly supplied in a transcription that attempts to represent a Semitic language adequately in modern alphabetic writing, in conformity with established usage in such languages as Arabic and Hebrew. But it must throughout be remembered by the non-Assyriological student that the original script makes no proper distinction between *k*, *ḳ*, and *g*, more especially when they are final consonants of a syllable, nor between *t*, *ṭ*, and *d*, between *z* and *s*, between *p* and *b*, and, curiously enough, between *m* and *v*. Strangest of all, and surely doubly so to those who argue for a Semitic-Babylonian origin of wedge-writing, the distinction so essential in Semitic speech between *ḥ*, *ḫ*, and *ḫ* has no existence in cuneiform. Comparative Semitic philology becomes, in consequence, a useful ally in supplying these deficiencies in transcription. But in the case of the gutturals it would be unsafe to apply it, except to a limited extent. For whether Assyro-Babylonian possessed the distinction between gutturals existing, say, in Arabic, is more than questionable. We therefore think that Dr Schrader follows the only wise course by laying down this general principle, *viz.*, as far as possible not to express any sound in transcription that does not possess its graphic equivalent in the original. In one point we are glad to see an improvement in the present volumes as compared with the "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," *viz.*, that *m* is substituted for *v* in all instances. Thus we have *amîlu* where previously we had *avîlu*, and even *Armadaî* for the Hebrew אֲרַמְדַּי. Better still, we have *m* as the final vowel sound where previously we had *v*—*e.g.*, *irṣitim* for *irṣitiv*, and *matum* for *matuv*. Comp. Schrader's transcription in 1885 of the Creation-tablet, lines 2 and 8 (COT. I. p. 2). The truth seems to be that the sound represented was one that was intermediate between *m* and *v*. But the method now adopted brings out more clearly the mimation that existed in the nominative, genitive, and accusative cases in Assyrian corresponding to the nunnation in Arabic.

Let us now turn to the contents of these volumes. The first two

are concerned almost exclusively with the great annalistic inscriptions of the Assyrian monarchs from the fourteenth century downwards. For the Old Testament student the practical interest in these documents is greatly enhanced when he reaches the period of reviving Assyrian power in the ninth century B.C. It was in the reign of Shalmaneser II., when the shock of collision between the Assyrian power and the Palestinian states was first felt. The mention of *Ahabu mât Sirlai* (Monolith-inscription, col. ii. 91-2 foll. in vol. i. p. 172), or "Ahab the Israelite," among the allies of the defeated King of Syria, marks the commencement of a new epoch in Hebrew and Palestinian politics, in which the interrelations of Syria and the Palestinian states, and of the latter among one another, were to be profoundly influenced by the ever-growing military power of Nineveh. This fact gives the annalistic inscriptions of the Assyrian kings exceptional importance during the ninth and eighth centuries. The inscription of Rammânirâri III. from Kalah (p. 190) throws a curious light on 2 Kings xiii. 5. To this, I believe, Max Duncker was the first to draw attention in his "History of Antiquity" (vol. ii. p. 258).

It is, however, the *second* volume in this series that affords the Old Testament student the most remarkable illustrations of Biblical history. It is here we find the most important historical documents of Assyria during the eventful period of about a century, extending from the accession of Tiglath Pileser III. to Ašurbanipal. Fully two-thirds of Schrader's great work, illustrative of the Old Testament, are occupied with the materials supplied by the inscriptions contained in this second volume. For the students of Hosea and Isaiah they are absolutely indispensable. It is safe to assert that without these no recent commentary, such as those of Cheyne, Delitzsch, and Dillmann could have been written, without sacrificing a very considerable portion of their very best results.

Before I pass on to speak of Vol. III., I wish to express my admiration of the clearly printed and serviceable maps contained in both the previous volumes. The advance made by the great world power of the Tigris towards Egypt and the Mediterranean during the ninth, eighth, and seventh centuries, is clearly presented in coloured outlines to the reader.

In the third volume we pass from Assyria to Babylonia. The *second* half of the volume (first issued) takes up the inscriptions of the new Babylonian empire, from Nabopolassar to Nabonidus. We have also the so-called "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle" and the clay cylinder-inscription of Cyrus. In the *first* half of the third volume we have some of the earliest Sumerian texts, which are inscriptions of the kings and rulers of Lagaš or Širburla. In fact, more than one half of this portion of the volume is occupied with

Sumerian texts. The transcription and rendering of these, the most ancient documents of Babylonia, extending back to the fourth millennium B.C., have been intrusted to the eminently capable hands of Dr Jensen and Dr Winckler. The difficulties of exact transcription are here greatly increased by the fact to which Dr Jensen draws attention in his valuable prefatory note (p. 9), where he acknowledges that his results can only be regarded as provisional: "For even in those cases when we know, from the Assyro-Babylonian grammatical and lexical tablets, the pronunciation of some ideogram, we frequently do not know whether that was the most ancient form of the word, or only that of a later period. The scribes who drew up the inscriptions of Gudea certainly did not employ the most ancient forms. Hence it is inevitable that our transcription should remain now and probably always a *mixtum compositum* of older and later forms." Without entering into details, the reader can easily recognise the extreme difficulty of the task that lies before the Sumerologist, who, without bilingual texts to help him, endeavours to penetrate into the meaning of that vastly ancient non-Semitic speech of the races that dwelt beside the Semitic Babylonians in the plains of the lower Euphrates and Tigris. The path of the investigator is also beset by the dust of controversy waged by Joseph Halévy and his followers (including Fried. Delitzsch¹) against the followers of Oppert, the former denying and the latter asserting the non-Semitic origin of the cuneiform system of writing. On this point the testimony of so eminent and careful an investigator as the author of the "*Cosmologie der Babylonier*," will be read with interest. "These [inscriptions] are all written in the Sumerian—i.e., non-Semitic language, and there is nothing to indicate that they are to be read in Assyrian, as may be the case with the so-called Sumerian inscriptions belonging to later times. Despite all my earnest endeavours, I have been unable to discover indubitable Semitisms among them."

As we pass over the brief inscriptions of the dynasty of Ur, we observe (p. 92) that the royal name, which Schrader in "*Cuneif. Insc. and O. T.*" i., p. 120 (on Genesis xiv. 1), reads as I'ri-Aku, and combines with the Hebrew אֲרִיךְ, is read as Rim-Sin. In the long excursus which I was able to append to the second volume of Schrader's COT (p. 296 foll.)—taken from his paper in the "*Transactions of the Prussian Academy of Sciences*," 1887—the name is read (on the authority of a syllabary) as *Riv (Rim) -Aku*, Aku being the alternative name of the moon-god Sin. In this view Schrader in 1887 was supported by

¹ See his "*Assyrian Grammar*" (Reuther), § 25 ; comp. also § 73 *ad fin.*

Professor Fried. Delitzsch (in the excursus to his father's "New Commentary on Genesis"), and to this reading the former still adheres.

Passing over the earlier inscriptions, which are of less importance to the Old Testament scholar, we notice one which will probably be an interesting novelty to most readers. In 1889 the Royal Museum in Berlin obtained a black stone with a fine relief and the inscription, "Image of Merodach Baladan, king of Šuanna" (or Babylon). This monarch is no other than the monarch mentioned in Scripture who sent an embassy to, and concluded an alliance with, Hezekiah, probably about the year 712 B.C. Unfortunately, as so often happens with Babylonian documents, this is not an annalistic inscription. After a very long preamble, in which the good deeds of Merodach Baladan are enumerated, among which is mentioned the restoration to the Babylonians of the estates (*iklî*) of which they had been robbed by the foe, details are given of landed property made over to Bîl-ahî-irbâ, the "Ninku" of Babylon. In col. v. we have the names of the witnesses, and the document closes with the customary imprecations on the head of anyone who injures the tablet. In an article by the editors of this transcription in the "*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*" (vii. 184), it is pointed out that the Babylonian monarch of this tablet is Merodach Baladan II., son of Irbâ-Marduk. He was the contemporary of Tiglath Pileser III., Sargon, and Sennacherib. He was evidently an usurper, and, though he calls himself son of Irbâ-Marduk, we are unable to give any account of his parentage. Merodach Baladan I., on the other hand, is mentioned on a stone-inscription, and is called the son of Milišigu. He probably reigned in the fourteenth century.

The *second* part of the third volume brings us into the New Babylonian Empire, and here we stand once more in familiar Old Testament times, viz., of Josiah, Zedekiah, and the Babylonian captivity. For the students of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zephaniah, Obadiah, Habakkuk, and especially the Deutero-Isaiah, as well as Isa. xiii.-xiv. 23, and xxi. 1-10, considerable interest attaches to the contents of this portion of the third volume. And yet the value of the larger part of the inscriptions is incidental rather than direct, since much of the documentary material is occupied with the great building (or restoration) enterprises of the Babylonian monarchs. Special interest, however, attaches to two inscriptions near the close of the volume, viz., the so-called "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle," and the clay cylinder of Cyrus, both of which are transcribed and translated for us by Professor Schrader. As I have dealt with these inscriptions in an article to appear in the *Expository Times*, I shall not dwell upon them in this review, except in reference to a single point of

special significance. I am now referring to a doubtful, because mutilated, passage in the "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle," reverse col. i. (right hand) line 23.¹ The context describes the capture of Babylon. On the 3rd of Marcheswan (*circ.* October) Cyrus entered Babylon. He granted peace to the city. Gobryas (Gu-ba-ru or Ug-ba-ru), he appointed as viceroy (*amûl pîhati*). The gods, which Nabonidus had banished, were restored to their towns. Now comes the questionable passage: "On the 11th Marcheswan, in the evening (?) Gobryas against . . . * * the king died."² A cruel fate has nearly obliterated the signs where the asterisks are placed. Formerly Assyriologists simply read *u šarru imât*. Schrader in his transcription proposes to read the doubtful passage *aššat šarri mîta-at* (and "the wife of the king died" (*mîtat* third sing. fem. permansive Kal of *mātu*). On referring to the facsimile of the original, appended to Winckler's "Untersuchungen zur Orientalischen Geschichte," p. 155, there seemed to me to be some foundation for Schrader's belief that the sign DAM = *aššat* should here be read. Such, however, is not the view taken by Mr Pinches, an unrivalled expert in the correct reading of tablets. In a letter to me, dated January 10, he states that he is now disposed to adopt the reading *u mar šarri imât*, "and the son of the king died." Moreover, Dr Schrader (in a recent communication to the writer), as well as Dr Hagen in his contribution to Delitzsch's "Beiträge" (vol. ii. p. 222), is disposed to regard the reading suggested by Mr Pinches as quite possible. Hagen, indeed, reads in place of *ima-at* the imperf. shafel, *ušma-at*, "and he" (*i.e.*, Gobryas) "slew the son of the king." Two external testimonies tend to support the theory of Mr Pinches. *First*, it agrees with the statement in Daniel, based upon ancient tradition, "in that night was Belshazzar slain" (v. 30). Belshazzar we know to have been the son of Nabonidus. See Schrader, COT, vol. ii. pp. 130-134. *Second*, it agrees with the testimony of Berossus¹ that Nabonidus survived the capture of Babylon for some years and was placed by Cyrus in honourable captivity in Carmania. Tiele's assumption (Babylon.-Assyr. Geschichte, p. 476, footn.), based on Josephus' Antiq. x. 11, 2, that there was a confusion in Berossus between Nabonidus and his son, is hardly warranted.

This interesting detail is an eloquent example of the perils and difficulties attending the decipherment of cuneiform texts. Absolute accuracy no one can expect who has given even a cursory glance at

¹ In Schrader's "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," Band III., 2 Hälfte, p. 134.

² See Sayce's rendering in "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," p. 171, and Hommel in his great work, "Geschichte Babylonien-Assyriens," p. 786. But the latter evidently hesitates, and is to be congratulated on the remarkable acumen with which he anticipates the probable truth (see his footnote).

¹ See Cory's "Ancient Fragments" (pub. Reeves & Turner), p. 68

the tablets and monuments of the British Museum. Much yet remains to be done in perfecting the texts that have been already published, and despite all that has been learned from texts and syllabaries, there is much that remains doubtful and unknown in interpretation, and altogether problematical in syntax. *Immer langsam voran.*

Yet even the most exacting critic will hardly deny that in these volumes the utmost pains have been bestowed by such eminent experts as Abel, Bezold (the editor of the well-known "*Zeitschrift*"), Jensen, Peiser, and Winckler, with the great Altmeister of Berlin at their head, to furnish the most accurate versions and renderings, based on the latest researches, of the documents for which they are responsible. Let the reader compare the "Monolith-inscription of Shalmaneser" (vol. i. p. 150 foll.) with the best available transcription previously accessible in Schrader's COT, vol. i. p. 183 foll., and he will see for himself that the ascertained results of Dr Craig's fresh researches ("*Hebraica*," vol. iii. p. 201 foll.)¹ have been turned to account. Even greater care has been shown in Dr Bezold's version of Sennacherib's Taylor cylinder. Dr Jensen, indeed, has been so anxious to bring his work up to date that a second reproduction of the inscriptions of Intina, as well as others, is given in the last issue of vol. iii. (p. 72 foll.) based upon a fresh issue of the "*Découvertes de Sarzec*" and upon an essay by Heuzey in the "*Revue d'Assyriologie*."

We heartily commend these volumes to all Old Testament scholars. A well-balanced criticism of the Old Testament must ever take increasing account of the results of Semitic archæology. Important as are the results achieved during the last half-century by the Higher Criticism in the analysis of the documents of the Old Testament, the results to be achieved in the future for the Old Testament itself by the spade of the antiquarian and the acumen of the Semitic philologist are likely to be greater still. We look forward with much interest to the concluding volumes of this series, which are to contain Babylonian Psalms and Tell el Amarna inscriptions.

OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE.

¹ These results I have set forth in the English edition of Schrader's work, vol. ii. (Additions and Corrections, p. xi.), and also in the glossary.

The Book Genesis a True History.

The Book Genesis shewn by comparison with the other books of the Old Testament and early ancient records to be a true history and the first book of the Hebrew Revelation. By the Rev. F. Watson, B.D. London: Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Cr. 8vo, pp. 288. Price 3s.

THE title of this work is somewhat misleading. Mr Watson does not even attempt to prove that the whole of Genesis is historical, and he plainly admits that the earlier part of the Book is not so. "The first two chapters," he says, "can hardly give us literal histories; they can only give us allegories or pictures of Creation. The great fact of the Fall seems to be presented to us in an allegorical dress. The Tree of Life in Gen. iii. can hardly be a material tree of natural wood and sap," &c. (p. 261). Moreover, Mr Watson believes in the usual critical theory that Genesis is composed of several documents put together by a compiler (p. 18). It is clear, therefore, that he does not differ in principle from the critics whom he seeks to refute. He recognises that the Bible must be interpreted according to the ordinary rules of historical and literary criticism, and that in the Bible, as elsewhere, we must discriminate between different kinds of narration, literally historical and other.

What Mr Watson claims to show is that in Genesis the historical, as opposed to the mythical, element is much larger than is commonly held by critics, and, in particular, that the patriarchs, from Abraham onwards, are historical persons. He seems, however, to have but a very inadequate idea of the nature of the task which he has undertaken. So vast a question cannot be settled until we have ascertained, by a careful comparison of the records of ancient peoples, what are the marks of historicity; that is, what are the *criteria* of historical and mythical narratives respectively. Otherwise we have no principle to guide us, and our conclusions will be, at the very best, plausible guesses, of no scientific value. To take one instance out of many, how are we to treat the "eponyms" who abound in all ancient histories? Since many of these persons are undoubtedly mythical, on what principle should we proceed in singling out some of them as historical? How are Reuben and Naphtali differentiated from Canaan and Zidon, from Hellén and Dorus?

On these fundamental questions Mr Watson has nothing to say. He reasons as if the Israelites were the only people who had "patriarchs," as if the history of the early Greeks, Latins, and Arabs threw no light whatever upon the subject. Many of the arguments whereby he endeavours to prove that the patriarchs in Genesis really existed might be urged with equal force in favour of the heroes in

the Iliad, or the mythical kings of Rome. The argument, for example, that a story must be true because it is not easy to see for what purpose it could have been invented, is one which Mr Watson repeatedly and confidently employs, although, as students of history are aware, it requires to be handled with the utmost caution. Moreover, all unbiassed judges will be of opinion that he makes far too sweeping a use of the "argument from silence." Thus, from the *absence* of certain allusions in the latter chapters of Genesis he deduces the tremendous result that "the Egyptianism of the last chapters of Genesis is of such a character as to incline us to assert a prae-Mosaic origin to the stories therein contained," &c. (p. 59). In order to make such a theory probable, it would surely be necessary to prove, not that Genesis *omits to mention* certain things which came into existence later, but that it *mentions* things which in later times had been abolished. "The times of Joseph," says Mr Watson (p. 58, note), "are differentiated from the times of Moses by the characters of the kings of Egypt, their attitude towards foreigners, and by the building operations of the later period. Note also how there seems to be no antagonism between the religious ideas of Pharaoh and Joseph, while the Exodus is regarded as a triumph of Jehovah over the gods of Egypt." But in reality the difference between the two periods is merely that in the one the Israelites are being well treated, while in the other they are being oppressed. Was it impossible for a later Israelite to know such facts by tradition? The other "differences" are imaginary. Of the attitude of the Egyptian kings towards foreigners in general, the Pentateuch tells us nothing. And why should a Hebrew writer go out of his way to speak of the "building operations" in the time of Joseph? As for the question of "religious antagonism," Mr Watson has failed to notice that here Genesis agrees with post-Mosaic history. Where Israelites and Gentiles are described as living on friendly terms with one another, there seldom appears any marked difference between their religious conceptions—witness David and Achish, Solomon and Hiram.

A similar tendency to build up theories on a negative basis is seen in Mr Watson's remarks on the "Babylonianisms" of Genesis (pp. 61, *sqq.*). That there are points of resemblance between the earlier chapters of Genesis and the Babylonian myths is generally admitted. But we scarcely have a right to conclude, from the mere *absence* of positive testimony, that these stories cannot have reached the Israelites after their settlement in Palestine, and must therefore have been brought by Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees. Mr Watson, like some other modern writers, is so much charmed with "Egyptianisms" and "Babylonianisms" as almost entirely to forget that the Egyptians and the Babylonians were not the only nations with whom Israel came in contact. In this particular case it is

important to observe that some of the most striking features of the beginning of Genesis appear also in the scanty remnants of *Phœnician* mythology handed down to us by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* i. chap. 10). Were our sources less meagre, many more points of resemblance might perhaps be found. But the existing evidence amply suffices to show that some popular myths were very widely diffused over Western Asia, and it is therefore hazardous in the extreme to explain all the "Babylonianisms" of Genesis as direct importations from Babylonia.

In explanation of the slightness of some of Mr Watson's arguments it may perhaps be urged that his book seems to have been written hurriedly. Otherwise he would hardly have cited Prof. Schrader's well-known work, on several occasions, under the nonsensical title "Inscriptions of the Old Testament" (see the notes on pp. 63, 66, 67, 70). But even apart from mere hastiness of execution, the somewhat arbitrary and "subjective" method employed by Mr Watson must render his results very precarious.

A. A. BEVAN.

Des Gregorius Abulfarag, gen. Bar-Hebräus Scholien zum Buche Daniel.

Herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen, von Dr Jacob Freimann, Rabbiner in Kanitz, &c. Brünn. Svo, pp. 74. Price, M. 2.

THIS little work is "a contribution to the history of Biblical Exegesis," and as such it will be very welcome to all who are interested in the subject. The great Biblical Commentary of Barhebraeus, the *Ausar Rāzē* (i.e., "Storehouse of Mysteries"), of which we here have an extract, has never yet been published in full, though several manuscripts of it exist in Europe. The most marked feature in Barhebraeus' Commentary on Daniel is its agreement with the views of Ephraim Syrus, whose interpretation of the Book in question (though it differed widely from the interpretation current among Greek and Latin Christians) long maintained itself in the East. It is indeed astonishing to see how much better Daniel was understood by these Orientals than by the more cultured Christians of the West—the things which were hidden from the wise and prudent were, in this case, revealed to babes. Thus, for example, Ephraim Syrus and Barhebraeus clearly recognise that Dan. vii. refers to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, that the Fourth Gentile Empire is the Greek, &c. To the Western Christians the Fourth Empire was naturally the Roman, but the

Orientalists (who had but a vague notion of the difference between Greeks and Romans), here retained the older exegetical tradition, borrowed, no doubt, from a Jewish source.

The manner in which Dr Freimann has discharged the duties of an editor, translator, and annotator, is worthy of great praise. On all the more important questions he not only states, as far as possible, whence Barhebraeus derived his views, but also gives very full references to other interpretations found in Jewish, Patristic, and modern European commentaries. Hence this book, small as it is, will prove a mine of information for specialists.

A. A. BEVAN.

The History and Song of Deborah (Judges iv. and v.).

By the Rev. G. A. Cooke, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Clarendon Press Depôt. 8vo, pp. 57. Price 1s. 6d.

MR COOKE's pamphlet does not contain much that is new, but it will nevertheless be extremely useful, in particular to those who do not read German, on account of the great care, thoroughness, and sobriety of judgment by which it is characterised. As to the relation between the Song in Judges v. and the narrative in chap. iv., Mr Cooke agrees, in the main, with Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, pp. 251, 252). In chap. iv. the original story has been *generalised*, i.e., deprived to a great extent of its local character, by a later writer. The redactor of the Book of Judges, who must have lived later still, incorporated with his work this generalised form of the story, adding an introduction and conclusion of his own.

It is impossible here to discuss Mr Cooke's philological notes at any length. But one point may be mentioned. In explaining the phrase בפרע פרעות (Judges v. 2), Mr Cooke refers to the rendering proposed by Cassel "for the loosing of the hairs," i.e., for the Nazarites, who let their hair grow long. It might have been added, in favour of this interpretation, that the Nazarites were not originally "devoted men," but men under a vow not to do certain things until some specified object (particularly vengeance upon enemies) had been attained. See Wellhausen's *Muhammed in Medina*, p. 201, note 2, and also Mr Black's recent Commentary on Judges in "The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools."

A. A. BEVAN.

Das Buch Daniel und die neuere Geschichtsforschung.

Ein Vortrag mit Anmerkungen, von D. Adolph Kamphausen, ord. Professor der Theologie zu Bonn. Leipzig. 8vo, pp. 46. Price, M. 1.20.

THE lecture which this pamphlet contains was one of a course delivered by the Professors of the University of Bonn in the summer vacations, for the benefit of clergymen engaged in practical work. Prof. Kamphausen here presents, in a very clear and readable form, the main results of modern criticism respecting the book of Daniel. The latest researches, in particular those of Assyriologists, are taken into account. The Professor defends the literary unity of Daniel against Lagarde and Meinhold, and is disposed to agree with Cornill in thinking that the book was composed soon after the Purification of the Jewish Temple, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the year 164 B.C.

A. A. BEVAN.

Beyschlag's Neutestamentliche Theologie.

Neutestamentliche Theologie oder geschichtliche Darstellung der Lehren Jesu und des Urchristenthums nach den neutestamentlichen Quellen. Von. D. Willibald Beyschlag, ord. Prof. der Theologie zu Halle. Halle a. S.: Verlag von Eugen Strien. Erster Band. Pp. viii. 410. Zweiter Band. Pp. 540. 8vo. Price (for the whole work), M. 18.

BIBLICAL theology, which owes its origin as a separate discipline to Germany, has been mainly promoted by the zealous contributions—whether taking the form of general treatises, or, more frequently, of special monographs—that have come from the scholars of that country; and to it the student is once more indebted for a notable enrichment of his resources in the very fresh and suggestive book which here lies before us. Dr Beyschlag is now a veteran in the service of theology, who has earned distinction in many fields—exegetic, dogmatic, polemic, and practical. He is well known in Germany by his biographies of his brother, who died early; of Nitzsch, his former teacher at Bonn; and of Ullmann; and probably best known beyond it by his classic monograph on the Christology of the New Testament (published in 1865), which maintains the theory—specially associated with his name—of the pre-existence of Christ as ideal rather than real, and by his elaborate and valuable “Life of Jesus.” But this latest work, which, he tells us, was suggested to him by his “Christology” being out of print,

and which represents the mature fruit of his studies, will probably be regarded as also his best gift. With not a few peculiarities, some of which, as it seems to us, detract from its value, it is a book of much interest and importance, independent in conception and treatment; happy in seizing and characterising the courses of thought with which he has to deal; ingenious in combination, and acute in criticism; expressing the results which he reaches, often with terseness and point, almost always with clearness and vigour. In this respect it is—for a German work—eminently readable. It is so considerably different in method and character from the great work of Weiss, which, entering the field in 1868, has since held it without a rival, as hardly to admit of real comparison. They deal with the same materials, but from different standpoints, and for different ends; and, while the new book cannot supersede the earlier, as, indeed, it makes no claim to do so, it may well hold a place by its side as no less independent than complementary. It is not, like that of Weiss, a storehouse of facts correlated according to the strict method and confined to the limits of Biblical Theology proper; but it is a connected exposition, linking the facts together with a wider scope and greater freedom, that invest it with singular attractiveness for the reader.

Our purpose in this notice is not so much to describe or to criticise the contents of the book, as to give some account of the principles on which it is constructed, and of the aims which it seeks to fulfil. Dr Beyschlag, in these respects, deals with us frankly, and, whether as regards his own general attitude to critical inquiry, or the features that differentiate his treatment from that of Weiss, tells us what we may and may not expect; so that the reader may approach the study of the book warned as well as stimulated.

He informs us, in a characteristic preface, that he was induced to undertake this handling of New Testament Theology as a whole partly to meet the long expressed wish of attached students, partly because of an impression that, if he might lay claim to any peculiar gift with a call to exercise it, he was specially fitted to enter with sympathy into the currents of Biblical thought, especially in the New Testament. This "feeling for and with the Biblical," as he suggests, has kept him aloof alike from lifeless scholasticism in theology, and from merely analytic criticism; has enabled him to find that unity of faith and knowledge, of which he was capable and had need; and has rendered it possible for him to combine scientific and practical effort in the service of the Church, as it has been the aim of his active life to do. However strong may seem this language of self-consciousness, it is not unnatural in one who is thus able to take the measure of himself towards the close of a long career; and those who consult the book will soon discover

that the venerable writer has not misjudged his aptitudes or his vocation.

Following in the track of his great teacher, Nitzsch, as a representative of the *via media* in German theology, he does not expect his course to meet with any special favour from either of the opposing wings of advanced criticism or of traditional dogmatism. His temperament does not allow him to treat matters, in which he cherishes a heartfelt interest beyond that of the mere scholar, with the superior air of coolness which passes with many as the mark of a genuine scientific spirit; and he asks leave to make some candid confessions as to his attitude. Accepting the standpoint of historical criticism as the only possible course for scientific theology in the present day in dealing with Scripture, and unreservedly renouncing the inferences drawn from what he calls "that antiquated theory of inspiration, which has done more to shut than to open the Bible," he yet feels himself in thorough opposition to the modern criticism, which has been widely prevalent since the days of Baur, and he will not on that account admit that he has fallen behind.

"I have learned from Schleiermacher that criticism is an art which seeks above all to reproduce mentally the writing which is to be judged, and to judge it only from the basis of such a living reproduction; and I have further learned from my honoured teacher, Bleek, that this art is not to be exercised without corresponding virtue—the virtue of discretion and diffidence, of reverent feeling towards historical traditions, of distinguishing between results that carry probability and idle imaginings that simply cumber the path with rubbish, which the next inquirer has to clear away. It seems to me as if, since the mighty impression produced, and the influence exercised by Baur, critical tools have become a common possession; but the art of using them, and its accompanying virtue, have been on the wane. It is held to be the business of criticism to arraign every historical tradition; it is thought a service to shake conservative assumptions without putting any better positive understanding of the matter in their room; people are far more bent on saying something that is new than on saying anything that is tenable. In contrast to this sort of criticism—which brings the art, and the whole more free treatment of theology, into disrepute—I have endeavoured, in the introductory remarks prefixed to the chief sections, to indicate what, according to my view, after careful consideration, a sober criticism has to say concerning the New Testament records; and I hope that my presentation of the Biblico-theological results, on the basis of these historic and critical assumptions, will stand the test."

As regards the subject-matter of that presentation, on the other hand, he finds a great unison in the Biblical doctrine of salvation—a substantial agreement between Paul and the original Apostles

and between Paul and Jesus himself in all that is important; and he thinks that with this result the good Protestant theologian, as well as the simple Bible Christian, may rest content. But he himself does not adduce scriptural support for the traditional creed of the Church, or does so but in a very modified way. On various points he desiderates a departure from current doctrinal formulas, and avows his conviction that a renovated expression of the doctrine of the Church is one of the most urgent wants of the time. "No stress laid on practical Christianity, however well meant and warranted it may be, will help us, unless with the conscientious earnestness, which should be our Protestant heritage, we seek to ascertain whether the convictions on which it rests are really grounded on the truth." It is with the view of supplying a modest contribution to this renewal of doctrine on a Biblical basis, richer, deeper, and more satisfactory for the intellect,—as well as for the religious and moral life,—than the scholastic type, that he submits the results of many years of familiarity with the New Testament.

He objects to the term, "Biblical Theology," as an awkward name for a great and good thing; for what is meant is not a theology occupying itself with the Bible, as all branches of theology must do, but that "which the Bible itself has and proffers, which lies before us in it;" and what, moreover, it really contains is no theology in the strict sense of scientific teaching as to divine things, but "religion" as distinguished from theology. If we continue to use the current name, it must be in the wider sense of "doctrinal content of a religious and moral nature," even in the absence of all scientific forms. But we are met on the threshold by the modern objection from the school of Ritschl: "Is doctrine in this sense the essential content of the Bible? Is not its content, above all, fact, history? Is not Christianity essentially a life in God mediated through Christ?" The truth underlying these positions is admitted: but it is a half truth, and therefore apt to be misunderstood. To say nothing of the Apostles who, at any rate, taught some things as to Christ, and of Paul, indisputably among the greatest *teachers* in the world's history, the position laid down by Harnack that "Jesus Christ brought no new doctrine," but "presented in His person a holy life," is one of those misleading statements that place in apparent opposition things which are not mutually exclusive.

"Jesus—no one can deny—was known by His contemporaries as a 'Master,' that is, as a teacher, and His preaching was hailed as 'new doctrine' (Mark i. 27); and He not only had the consciousness, but claimed the special function, of conveying a knowledge of God, which was unheard of before Him, and was not to be attained without Him (Matt. xi. 27). Certainly this knowledge of God is merely the ideal side of the

life in God, which He unfolds in order to impart, but this new life is no unconscious one, nor did it impart itself by magic ; on the contrary, it clothes itself in idea, word, preaching, and thus becomes essentially and necessarily a new teaching of divine things. Nor is it otherwise with the content of sacred Scripture generally. This content is certainly testimony, attestation of facts of divine revelation ; but in the testimony there is contained thought, in the fact there is contained idea ; what God reveals of Himself is truth to be thought about and to be proclaimed—and thus, at all events, doctrine.’”

This doctrine must be the basis of our systematic theology, and of our practical preaching ; but, before we can turn it into the scientific forms of thought of the present day, or bring it to bear in our preaching on the immediate requirements of the Church, it is necessary to realise what was its original shape as it appeared in history. And this is the task of Biblical theology, which aims at “reproducing the tenor of the doctrine, religious and moral, which lived in the consciousness of Jesus and of his first witnesses, and found expression in their discourses and writings.” But here we encounter the first note of the distinctive conception formed by Dr Beyschlag as to the duty of the theologian who undertakes this task of reproduction. After pointing out that the materials supplied by exegesis are merely stones which obtain their proper and full value only by being joined together into a great building—elements which have to be combined in order to obtain the collective effect—he touches on the more or less fragmentary and incidental character of their documentary transmission, and on the close relations subsisting in the Old Testament between the history and the doctrine ; so that the faith of the Psalmists, the wisdom of the Proverbs, the preaching of the prophets belong to Israel’s *history*, and form its deepest and most characteristic facts, and on the other hand the religious and moral *teaching* of the Old Testament is to be sought not merely in the utterances of Moses and the prophets, but no less in the confessions of the Psalms and in the sacred institutions, customs, and views of the people. He adds :—

“Even so it is but a limited portion of the doctrinal tenor of the New Testament, which is purposely unfolded in the didactic discourses of Jesus and the occasional writings of His Apostles ; perhaps a larger portion comes to us but faintly echoed [*klingt mit an*] in the form of presupposition, or of cursory hint, or of embodiment in the life and conduct of those who teach. And what we have to reproduce is not merely the fragments that are incidentally worked out in detail, but the whole of the view of the world, as it lived in the hearts of Jesus and of His first witnesses.”

Obviously Dr Beyschlag here provides ample scope for the exercise of that power of divination which he reproaches Weiss

with ignoring. The very figurative character of his language savours of vagueness, and is suggestive of guess-work ; and it is difficult to see how the widened field thus opened up for his efforts is consistent with the limits of the definition with which he sets out : " What the Bible proffers, what lies before us in it." It seems more in keeping with this just conception of the province of Biblical Theology that we should be content with the partial but sufficient knowledge *given*, than that we should engraft on it attempts at its integration by conjecture.

Dr Beyschlag undertakes his inquiry under the twofold conviction of the revealed character of Biblical religion, and of the historical character of Biblical revelation. The subject might, he grants, be handled apart from faith in the higher origin of Christianity, in which case it would be a mere chapter in the general history of religions ; but this is not the Christian and Protestant point of view. " As Christians, we believe Biblical religion, especially that of the New Testament, to rest, as distinguished from any other, on divine revelation ; as Protestant Christians, we believe that this revelation has found so complete and final an expression in the Scriptures recording it, that their doctrinal content remains the norm for the Christian teaching and action of all times." The justification of this position belongs to Apologetics ; for Biblical theology it is simply a presupposition, on which the manner of treating the subject is not dependent, but without which Biblical religion would be for us an insoluble enigma.

But Dr Beyschlag finds in the theology of the day an attitude which does not deny the revealed character of Christianity, but recognises it more or less definitely in the personal life of Jesus, and yet does not extend that recognition to the literature of the New Testament, which is regarded as a series of purely human historical products, mirroring with no small variety the efforts thus early made to subject the revealed fact to theologising manipulation. To this attitude—which would do away with the significance of Scripture as the permanent text for the history of doctrine—he declares himself at once opposed, without reverting to the old doctrine of inspiration or wishing to formulate a new one. He takes his stand on the facts, that these writings are, beyond dispute, the oldest records of Christianity, as to which any impeachment of their title to be taken as genuine witnesses and pure reflections has yet to be made good by proof ; that the impression which Christendom has received, and still receives, from these writings establishes a decided contrast between them and the ecclesiastical literature that followed ; and that, granting the free right of criticism to examine tradition, and the possibility of some elements in the gradually formed collection being relegated to a deuterocanonical status, it can but confirm, on the

whole, the judgment of the Church, which has with sure tact settled the classical literature of Christianity, in which may be felt the pulse-beat of the creative period as compared with the later epoch of elaboration—the pulse-beat, which still marks the difference between the Biblical text and its commentary in the sermon. The historical reasons for this abiding distinction and preference may be discerned. Christianity early became detached from its Hebrew mother-soil, and transplanted into the foreign field of Greek secular culture, where it gradually underwent modification through the reflecting and theologising spirit of the Hellenic schools. But, while Dr Beyschlag may so far agree with Harnack and Hatch as frankly to own the subsequent influence of the Greek mind on the formation of dogma, he has no belief, with Pfeiderer, that that influence is already traceable in the New Testament writings themselves, which are, in fact, conspicuously distinguished by its absence. “The New Testament embraces the primitive literature which lies beyond the range of that great transition, and which, in naïve connection with Old Testament views and the prophetic spirit which Jesus has afresh unsealed, mirrors the newly revealed fact, to which it comes so near in point of time, with a directness which all later writings naturally and necessarily lack.”

But side by side with the revealed character of Scripture lies its historical character. Notwithstanding its divine origin, it proceeds according to the laws of human nature. The idea of development, “playing so large a part in modern theories of natural and mental life,” is held not foreign to Scripture, which exhibits a great progress from the elementary and imperfect to the richer and more complete, and most of all from the Old Testament to the New. Development can only be predicated of what is in some sense imperfect, human, not of what is eternally perfect, divine; and so the historical point of view is held to involve in principle a humanly-imperfect side of Biblical revelation and of the record embodying it, which brings them—notwithstanding the divine soul animating both—under the same conditions of historical criticism as in other cases.

“But how,” he asks, “is this compatible with retaining faith in the divine revelation underlying Biblical religion? ‘Not,’ he answers, ‘if we should retain the earlier view of Scripture as being something abstractly divine, and not as something *divine-human*; if we should look at revelation as an aggregate of doctrinal propositions let down ready-made from heaven, and Scripture as their infallibly dictated record. But instead of this we now understand by revelation rather an awakening and enlightening of the immediate innermost mental life, as the divine fertilisation (*Befruchtung*) of the point of affinity with God in the inner man, which certainly affects and fully engages his intellect also, but does not overpower it by

the imposition of a supernatural pure doctrine,—a self-communication of the divine spirit to the human, such as is in keeping with the nature of religious intercourse with God, and conditioned of itself by the measure of human receptivity and capacity.”

This passage, which I have rendered pretty literally, as not being too sure of what it exactly means, appears to me to deal with the preparation of the mind for the subjective reception and appropriation of what is revealed, but to take little account of the objective side—of the subject-matter, of which the mind, when awakened and illumined, is to take cognisance. Whence come the facts given to it—let us say, the life, death, and resurrection of Christ—and the accompanying comment which reveals their bearings? Can the mind, which may know and verify them when given, also excogitate them? and can it, while apprehending for itself and conveying to others the divine interpretation of their meaning, create of itself that needed guidance? Dr Beyschlag, who so far recognises the divine side as to insert parenthetical clauses, such as “without prejudice to its divine origination,” or “notwithstanding the divine soul in Biblical religion and its records,” finds a potent key for unlocking the mystery of the “divine-human” in the vague and undefined word “development,” which is often used to cloak ignorance with a semblance of knowledge; but he has himself pointed out that the development, which is posited as a necessary outcome of the human factor, and may be fitly applied by such as choose to use it to the simple course of human effort, can hardly be deemed equally applicable to the divine factor. It is, at least, open to doubt whether the use of it enables us to dispense altogether with the earlier distinctions of primary and secondary authors, of organs or media, of substance and form, or with the more recent distinction, on which M. Gretillat lays stress, between the lifting the veil from an object hitherto concealed and the throwing on it the ray of light which permits it to be clearly seen: the former the external historical revelation; the other the internal preparation of the *νοῦς* to discern it.

We may further point out that what Dr Beyschlag here says of progress along the line of development, from the Old Testament to the New, is not quite in keeping with the position which he himself takes up a little further on, when, speaking of the course followed by various writers on New Testament theology or on our Lord's teaching (as in the case of Wendt) in prefixing some account of the earlier Jewish views to which it stands related, he maintains that such an unfolding of the Judaic, especially the Pharisaico-Rabbinic, teachings is nowise necessary to an understanding of the teaching of Jesus. Jesus keeps Himself completely independent of the different tendencies and modes of thought of His time; wages

constant war with the most predominant of these tendencies ; and, while feeling a certain kinship of spirit with only one of His contemporaries, John the Baptist, owns him as a forerunner, but not at all as a guide or a master. And, in whatever way Dr Beyschlag may be reconciled with himself, he seems to us to judge justly when he speaks of the New Testament teaching as having a stamp of newness and originality such as has no parallel in the world's history, and claims to let it speak to us in all that new and original power.

After a brief historical survey of the treatment which the subject has received, Dr Beyschlag recognises the book of Weiss as the most important contribution made to it of recent years, and as at present commanding the field. He cordially admits merits in which it is hardly likely to be excelled ; affirms that any one who undertakes to handle the subject afresh will have to exhibit adequate reasons for doing so ; and proceeds to state the grounds which induced his present enterprise. And here, while he says much that is true, and enough to vindicate the action that has given to us so valuable a book, he falls apparently into considerable confusion of things that differ ; desiderates in Weiss elements that not only formed no part of his plan, but would have been wholly out of keeping with it ; and lays down postulates which tend essentially to alter the now generally recognised function and character of Biblical theology—to impart subjectivity into its processes, and uncertainty into its results. Apart from exception to the form of the book as broken up into paragraphs and their subjoined elucidations, instead of a free historical presentation, and apart from differences of judgment in matters of detail, he objects to the undue subordination of the historical to what he calls the literary point of view. The raw material, worked out by exegesis, is presented with completeness and good arrangement, but not combined into great living shapes or worked up into historic unity. He grants that there is doubtless risk of importing somewhat of one's own into the process ; but it is a risk which history cannot avoid incurring. But this raises the question whether it is, or ought to be, the office of Biblical theology thus to convert itself into history ? whether it is not, to say the least, an inconvenient, if not an unscientific, proceeding, to alter so considerably the meaning of a term which has received adequate definition and acceptance, as to change its character, and greatly widen its range ? whether it is not expedient that the exposition of the Biblical facts, as they are actually given, in their Biblical form and order—which it is the object of Dr Weiss to supply—should be kept apart, and designated by a different name, from the other and subsequent process of weaving the facts into a connected history, filling up the gaps, and completing the picture by the aid of conjecture ? It is

confusing, if not misleading, that the name appropriated by common consent to the former should be transferred to the latter. It is safe to say that, had Weiss done what Dr Beyschlag suggests, his book would not have had its present distinctive value.

A similar remark must, we fear, fall to be made as regards the next exception taken to the Text-book of Weiss, that it fails to recognise the right and duty of reproducing the content of the New Testament teaching in the modes of thought and language of the present day.

"Writing history, he says, is the subjective reproduction of objective matter in itself extraneous to us; how shall this extraneous matter become intelligible to me, and my own, unless I in some way translate it into the mode of view and language of the present? The religious doctrines of the New Testament, which grew up on the soil of an alien nationality, and are parted from us by eighteen centuries, must become translated—certainly with the utmost possible care not to subtract or add anything—into the thought and speech of the German present, if they are not to remain for us obscure oracles sounding strangely."

But, apart from the assumption that the work of Biblical theology is to be thus historical, several difficulties suggest themselves. There is the very word "Biblical," even if we do not hold strictly by Weiss's postulate of "Biblical form." How is this importation of modern forms of thought and language consistent with Beyschlag's definition of "what the Bible proffers—what lies before us in it?" Before we can make the translation, we must have ascertained what has to be translated, which is not the very words of Scripture, but the general tenor of its theological teaching. The first part of the process is to ascertain that tenor by extracting, correlating, and combining the Biblical materials; this, and this only, seems to be the proper province of Biblical theology. When it has done this, it has done enough for its part, and may hand over the product to be transformed, adopted, and turned to various account for dogmatic, speculative, or homiletic needs. This office of translation is, in fact, the very function which Professor Nitzsch, in his recent Text-book, assigns to systematic or dogmatic theology—the "scientific exhibition of the content of the Christian faith or consciousness in the forms of thought and expression of the present age." Instead of making the Biblical writers speak in the language of modern times, we must rather transfer ourselves, in the first instance, into their past, and learn what was the form of the truth as conceived, expressed, and transmitted by them, in contradistinction at once from its subsequent elaboration by the Church, and from its manipulation to meet the views and wishes of the *Zeitgeist*, which, to judge from the utterances of some of its mouthpieces, is the *κανὼν καὶ μέτρον*

τῆς ἀληθείας, applying a norm to Christ, rather than deriving one from Him. Unless we separate, with Weiss, this first and most essential process from any subsequent procedure, we shall not only run the risk of "importing something of our own," but we shall have no means of determining whether or not our so-called translation really reflects or reproduces in another dress the original Biblical contents. An apt illustration is suggested by a remark of Dr Bruce in his recent volume on Apologetics. "What does Messiah, translated into our modern dialect, mean? It signifies the bringer in of the *summum bonum*, the realiser of all religious ideas, the establisher of the loving fellowship between God and man, and between man and man, for which the Hebrew equivalent is the kingdom of heaven." However legitimate, for certain purposes, this translation may be, it is obvious that, put forward as "Biblical," it must simply be productive of confusion.

After this attempt to set Dr Weiss right as to the conception of his task in two respects, wherein it seems to us fortunate that he has not taken the course which Dr Beyschlag recommends, we need be the less surprised to find him lamenting the exclusion from that work of two "powers" or processes, which, he conceives, should have had a place in it, but which are conspicuously absent—the powers of criticism and of divination, as he terms them. What he means by criticism (*Kritik*) he thus explains:—

"Criticism, certainly not in the sense of asking whether and how far the doctrinal content of the New Testament may be held as dogmatic truth valid for us to-day, but as examining the questions, what value a particular view has for the Biblical preacher himself; whether it is an outcome (*Ergebniss*) of his own mental life or a traditional heritage; whether it is for him kernel or shell; and further, whether it exhaustively expresses his own thinking on a particular doctrinal point, or is for him merely one mode of viewing it alongside of another."

Now—apart altogether from the questions, how far criticism, as thus described, is in itself legitimate or capable of yielding any new and trustworthy results; whether, for instance, we have materials for determining the value of a view in the writer's own judgment apart from the place which he has himself assigned to it or his own statements regarding it, or for settling how much is due to his own thinking and how much taken over from tradition (but withal, it may be, appropriated and assimilated), or for deciding, apart from indications on his own part, whether he has exhausted his thought, or how far his presenting of it is partial or full; and to say nothing of the further inquiry, whether what are really speculative conjectures on such points are entitled to pass current as constituent

elements of history—it is obvious that such a process has no claim to a place within the sphere of Biblical theology, which has the simple duty of ascertaining the facts and presenting what it finds, and which cannot, without injury to its proper function and value, combine with that presentation attempts either to account for their origin or to estimate their relative worth.

But if Weiss must be held to have rightly excluded from his book "criticism" in the sense indicated, still more must we deem him to have wisely abstained from engrafting on it the process of discovering or inventing materials not given, which Dr Beyschlag terms "divination." Here is what he says of it:—

"And as to divination, without which there can be no writing of history, because, without a certain reading-between-the-lines, the always scanty and fragmentary sources can never yield to us a living whole, where would it be—with all the caution doubly called for—more indispensable than just here? Here, where our object is to read out of the discourses of Jesus handed down to us in concise selection, or out of the occasional letters of His disciples consisting, for the most part, of a few leaves, a comprehensive view of things in general (*eine Weltanschauung*), and that view assuming in each case an individual form? If Jesus has beyond dispute given His teaching more amply than the Gospels reproduce it, if His disciples have out of a far more many-sided world of ideas given to us merely detached trains of thought on particular occasions, the task of correspondingly (*entsprechend*) reproducing the primitive Christian doctrine from the New Testament imperatively requires that we should not merely render (*wiedergeben*) the trains of thought that lie before us, but also that from bare hints, from the still background of the didactic utterance (*des Lehrvortrags*), we should guess at the world of thought of the Biblical teachers."

This is at least eminently candid. If it is not quite clear what, under the circumstances, is meant by "reproducing *correspondingly*" (correspondingly to what? to the actual fragmentary character, or to the assumed ideal integration?), the obscurity is simply due to Dr Beyschlag's having left the solid ground of fact and betaken himself to the cloudland of speculation. No doubt the divining process has its attractions for the writer or reader who desires, with the help of a lively imagination, to combine isolated statements into the unity and symmetry of a completed structure; and there have been brilliant instances of its seemingly successful application, as in the case of Niebuhr's conjectural reproduction of early Roman history. But even this effort, while remaining a monument of rare ingenuity, has been largely superseded, if not wholly discarded, in the light of subsequent research. And, while in every such case it is desirable

that the line should be clearly drawn between the facts that are given and the subjectively supplied conjectures that are used to link them together, in the case now before us the very term "Biblical" should preclude the introduction of aught that is extra-Biblical, and the unique importance and sacredness of the teaching should forbid its being alloyed with any admixture or addition, however well meant or confidently put forward. Reading between the lines is at best an imaginative exercise, open to endless possibilities of subjective caprice; and to serve up guesses as to the development of hints, or as to what may have lain in the background, by the side of, and without definite demarcation from, the objective presentation of the facts on the face of the record is a course as unsatisfactory as it is unwarranted.

If Biblical theology, then, is to retain its name and to preserve its distinctive character, the exceptions taken to the method of Weiss appear rather to bring into relief its points of excellence; and, so far as the elements, which are lamented as absent from the work of Weiss, are present in that of Dr Beyschlag, they detract from its relative value in the field to which its name assigns it. At any rate they suggest that the book should be used with careful discrimination between what is vouched for by the sources and what is brought in to supplement them.

At the same time it is only due to Dr Beyschlag to say that he makes, on the whole, but moderate use of the "powers" which he thus invokes. His book rests on thorough knowledge of the Biblical basis; and is throughout vigorous and interesting. I have left no room to touch on details; but I may mention one or two sections where the treatment has specially impressed me by its clearness or felicity, such as the remarks on the peculiar character of Jesus' teaching (i. 30 f.); on the assumed influence of Essenism and Alexandrianism (i. 33); on His relation to the Messianic idea (i. 56), and His attitude to the law and to ritual (i. 104 f.); the admirable summary of grounds for holding the genuineness of the Gospel of John, "reasons which its opponents may pass by in silence, but cannot invalidate" (i. 214 f.); the contribution towards solving the problem of the Johannine discourses (i. 216 f.); the discussion of the passages bearing on "Pre-existence" in that Gospel (i. 244 ff.); the remarks on the so-called community of goods (i. 314), and on the relation of the early Church to the law (i. 317); the handling of the Jacobine doctrine of justification (i. 354 ff.); the discussion of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection in 1 Cor. xv. (ii. 259 ff.); the introductory notice of St Paul and of the theories of Pfleiderer and others as to his conversion (ii. 5-25); the conception of the place and character of the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 278-287); and the "key to the exposition" of the Apocalypse (ii. 345).

There is a refreshing vein of common sense and plain speaking in many incidental criticisms of the "critical" school, such as these: "Paul's subsequent zeal in persecution does not accord with his having sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and so we must distrust the statement to that effect; that is to say, the character developed by Alexander the Great does not accord with the philosophy of Aristotle, and so it must be a fable that Aristotle was his tutor" (ii. 7); the remark on Holtzmann's surprise that "the fundamental ideas of Jesus' synoptic teaching are lost or thrown into the background in the First Epistle of Peter" as "a bold inference *e silentio* to be drawn from a writing of eight pages with definite practical aims" (i. 371); and on Holtzmann's suggested instances of the dependence of that Epistle on other Apostolic letters: "We on our part must confess that we are unable to form any conception of the mental plight of a primitive Christian writer, be he Peter or not Peter, who, in order to call out to his readers, 'Requite not evil with evil,' or to make use of the phrase 'for conscience' sake,' should need to go and borrow from another author" (i. 372); as to the suggestion of Paul's having borrowed from the Book of Wisdom: "this whole Hellenistic factor in the modes of thought of a man who was brought up by his parents and teachers in the strictest Pharisaic tradition, is, as we shall show, a mere chimera" (ii. 22): on the suggestion of Ritschl and Wendt that in Matt. v. 18 *νόμος* means not the written law of the Old Testament, but that of which Jesus gave the fulfilment in the New Testament; "*νόμος* cannot in verse 18 mean anything else than it meant in verse 17, and one can only speak of 'jot and tittle' in the case of a written positive law, not in that of an unwritten ideal one;" above all, in the note, too long to quote here, where he effectively turns the tables on the supporters of the vision-hypothesis as to the resurrection by depriving them, on their own principles, of their mainstay for the alleged flight to Galilee (i. 296 f.).

The work is pleasant reading in German, but it well merits translation into English, which, it may be hoped, it will ere long receive from some competent hand.

WILLIAM P. DICKSON.

Lehrbuch der vergleichende Confessionskunde.

Von Ferdinand Kattenbusch, Dr. u. ord. Professor der Theologie zu Giessen. (*Sammlung Theologischer Lehrbücher.*) Erster Band. *Die Orthodoxe Anatolische Kirche.* Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1892. 8vo, pp. xxv. 555. Price, M. 12.

WE have in this volume the first instalment of an elaborate work in that department of Theological Science which is known as Symbolics. A glance at the table of contents, however, is sufficient to show how largely the domain claimed by Professor Kattenbusch as his province exceeds that which has been traditionally assigned to this department. The latter has, indeed, usually been understood as restricted to an inquiry into the origin and contents of the Symbols, Creeds or Confessions acknowledged by the various sections of the Christian Church, and, when comparatively treated, has often amounted to little more than a tabulation of the various points of agreement or divergence exhibited by these documents, as, for example in Winer's well-known *Comparative Darstellung* (Eng. trans. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1873). But even Hagenbach long ago perceived that the subject was of wider import and susceptible of more extended and instructive treatment. In his useful and popular *Encyclopädie*, he observes (9th edition, p. 287) that the differences between Churches (he is referring especially to the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran) extend not only to dogma, but to their ethical, political, and social characteristics. "Symbolics, as hitherto conceived, requires to be expanded into a science which shall place side by side, for purposes of comparison, not only the dogmatic, but also the moral, principles and tendencies marking the different Churches, even those manifesting themselves in the spheres of politics, art, and science. . . . For such a science, which would be of the highest interest, even as a contribution to the history of culture, and for which the term 'Symbolics' would then certainly be far too narrow, the history of the Reformation, and that of the times from the Reformation period to our own, would supply the material." The adoption of a view akin to that of Hagenbach, but even more comprehensive, Kattenbusch signalises by changing the name of the discipline from comparative *Symbolik* to comparative *Confessionskunde*. Its object he conceives as the study and comprehension of the various Churches in all their characteristic features and relations. All sources of information whatever—whether the authoritative documents usually known as Creeds or Confessions, or not—are included in the *Confessionskunde*, or *Creed-lore*, if we may venture so to render the term. The Churches of the present day form the starting point. The aim is to take them

in their living present reality, to inquire into all the circumstances and influences which have combined to make them what they are, to examine into the phenomena they exhibit, and the principles which lie at the root of these phenomena, and so to estimate the relation in which phenomena and principles stand to each other. It is this reference to the *present* condition of the Churches which distinguishes Creed-lore from general Church History or from the History of Doctrines, of each of which it may in one sense be said to be a department. Church History has to narrate many an episode, the History of Doctrines has to exhibit many an opinion or theory, which have left no trace whatever upon the life or thought of the Churches of to-day, and of which therefore Creed-lore takes no account. Whether their present condition, however, be one of decay or prosperity, it has its roots in the past; it is, therefore, explicable from the past, and the collection as well as the use of the materials which enable us to execute the task of explaining it belongs to the extended and vitalised Symbolics—*Vergleichende Confessionskunde*.

The volume before us contains the introductory portion of the whole work, together with the complete treatment of the Eastern Church. It will be followed by others dealing with the Roman Church and the Evangelical Church.

The Prolegomena, after discussing the scope of the science, take up the important question of the symbolical documents strictly so called, and the extent to which they are recognised as authoritative and normative in the different Churches. This is found to be much less the case than is generally supposed. The Eastern Church adheres very strictly to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, and the decrees of the seven Œcumenical Councils, but the value ascribed to them is mainly historical, and many more elements have to be taken into account before the true character and position of this Church can be understood. The Roman Church necessarily includes in its doctrinal definitions all Papal decrees and Papal interpretations. Even the great manifesto of Trent is continually subject to such interpretation. The Reformed Churches exhibit a great variety of purely national Confessions, while, among different sections of the Lutheran Church, the attitude towards the Book of Concord varies greatly, the *Confessio Augustana* being the only document which obtains anything like general recognition.

The three great divisions of the Church which Kattenbusch proposes to treat successively are in his view three *stages* of approximation to the true idea of the Church which he defines as "that religious community which receives with faith the Gospel as such, which knows the actual content of Revelation, and regulates its religious life accordingly." This leads to an explanation of what, in

the view of the author, is strictly meant by "the Gospel." Without following him into this discussion, we may note that his view of the "three stages" enables him freely to recognise the great thoughts and great services of the Greek and Roman Churches, while finding in the Church of Luther an advance upon those of Athanasius and Augustine. He repudiates, at the same time, the idea that sectarian division is a necessary mark or accompaniment of Protestantism. The Protestant Churches are comparatively young, they have their respective tasks to work out; as these approach completion, misunderstanding and division must fall away; but meanwhile every Protestant recognises, as beyond and above his own particular Church, that ideal community which it seeks to realise, and by virtue of its relation to which it has, as it were, its *raison d'être*, its root and life.

A sketch of the History of Creed-lore, or the Science of the relations of the different Confessions to each other, concludes the Prolegomena. Here the bearings of Pietism and Rationalism upon the development of the science are duly estimated. The most valuable contribution to the subject, so far as it goes, is said to be K. Hase's "Handbook of Protestant Polemic against the Roman Catholic Church." "He who could depict all the Churches," says Kattenbusch, "after the example of this treatment of Roman Catholicism, would deserve to rank in the best and highest sense as the historian of Creed-lore." He despairs of the possibility of attaining so living and sympathetic an understanding of the whole range of Churches as is there exhibited in regard to one; but it is something for us to know the ideal which our author has set before himself, and we may say at once that, if he is as successful in the execution of the remainder of his task as he is with the portion which lies before us, he will not fall far short of his ideal.

The "Orthodox Eastern Church" is the subject of the remaining seven-eighths of this volume. Kattenbusch lays some stress upon the propriety of designating Churches by the titles they themselves assume. It is also of importance to do so, as in such titles some hint may usually be found of the special function they regard themselves as discharging. All the three great divisions of the Christian Church believe themselves to be in possession of the truth. This possession the Eastern Church emphasises. To it belongs the inheritance of the Fathers. It is proud of, and rests peacefully content with, this inheritance. The Evangelical Church keeps before it, in its self-chosen designation, a principle of self-criticism. It believes itself to possess not only a knowledge of the truth, but a knowledge of the source of truth, by reference to which it can correct error, and maintain itself in the path of progress. The Roman Church claims to be "Catholic," all inclusive; and this claim it is not satisfied with

asserting, as the Greek Church also does, but apprehends as a task set before it to carry out.

The first chapter of this part naturally traces the various stages by which was accomplished the great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and is followed by an account of the attempts made from time to time to heal the breach both with the Roman and with the Protestant Churches. The prospect of a union, or even of a general federation, of these Churches is declared not to be a hopeful one. The next two chapters are occupied with a description of the present condition and organisation of the Orthodox Church itself, and those sections of Christendom which are more or less closely allied with it. As branches of the former, we have the Turkish patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem); the Churches of Greece, Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and the State Church of Russia. Among the latter are the Churches which, equally with the great Eastern Church itself, trace their descent from the early ages of Christianity,—the Armenians, the Copts, the Abyssinians, the Jacobites of Syria, the Nestorians, and the Thomas Christians of India. Here are also noticed the sects which have been formed within the province of the Russian Church itself, and the United Churches,—isolated communities scattered along the borderland between the Greek and Roman Churches, acknowledging the Pope formally, but adhering to Greek ritual, the fruit of Papal activity after the failure of the last great attempt at Union between East and West made at Florence in 1439.

After this survey of the present condition of the Orthodox Church along with its congeners, Kattenbusch turns to its characteristic dogmatic positions, considering successively the history and significance of the Creed of Constantinople, the Soteriological doctrines, the idea of God, and the *Filioque* and other controversies. From this we pass to a consideration of the Church as an organisation, including its priesthood and its worship, with a special and very important section upon the relation to the Church of the Emperors in earlier, and their successors, the Czars, in later times. The seven sacraments, the Christian year, the worship of the saints and religious pictures, the fasts and the liturgy, are all in turn passed under review. And finally, an attempt is made to estimate the type of piety which has grown up under the shadow and influence of the great Church of the East. In doing so a distinction is properly drawn between the religious life of the people and that associated with the monasticism, to which the East has always been specially prone. These are considered in their various phases, the religious life of the dissenting communities having also a section devoted to it.

So far we have endeavoured to give an idea of the scope of this volume, at the risk, it must be confessed, of making our notice somewhat resemble an abstract of the table of contents. There is, we may remark in passing, an admirable analytical table, designed, as the author explains, to take for the time the place of a general index, which will, however, also be supplied with the completion of the work. What has been said is at least sufficient to show how full and elaborate the treatment given to the subject is. That Professor Kattenbusch is an eminently competent scholar would be amply evidenced by his being selected to follow such men as Holtzmann and Harnack in the important series of *Theologische Lehrbücher*. He had, however, already proved his special fitness for the task entrusted to him by some articles in the *Studien und Kritiken*. In this large volume every page is crowded with facts, admirably arranged and clearly stated. The author is perhaps less happy in his introductory chapters than in his purely historical work. There is a lack of definitions, of distinct explanation, for example, alike of the new name and the new conception of his science which is not a little perplexing at the outset. The statement of his own theological standpoint in the second section of chap. ii. also leaves something to be desired in this regard. But the historical matter is thoroughly well put together. We propose, in the space which still remains to us, to touch briefly upon some of the more interesting topics which are passed under review. They will be selected chiefly from the theological sections.

Recent discussions in this country have brought into prominence the doctrine of the Incarnation. Following, and to some extent supplementing, Harnack's account of the Christological doctrine formulated at the Council of Chalcedon, Kattenbusch points out that the Christology of the East was never quite understood in the West. In the former the dominating conception was that of the redemption of man from death, from physical corruption (*φθορά*), through Christ, whose Person possessed a new quality of nature, and imparted a power, which, entering into and permeating the nature of man, purified and elevated that nature so as to render it inaccessible to death. The Western conception was rather that indicated in the terms applied to Christ in the Roman Creed (the forerunner of the so-called Apostolic Creed), viz.: "Lord" and "Judge of the quick and the dead." By what He does, as God representing God to man, as man representing man to God, He procures for us that grace which issues in the forgiveness of sins and deliverance from judgment. To the West the important point is what Christ, the God-man *does*, to the East what He *is*. Hence Monophysitism is the logically correct form of Eastern Christology, and most fully expressive of the religious interest involved in it, while the West,

in view of a certain duality of function, holds fast the two Natures in the one Person of the Redeemer.

The comparisons and contrasts to which our author thus from time to time calls attention are in the highest degree interesting and instructive. They remind us, also, that we have here not only an exhaustive treatise upon one of the great Churches of Christendom, but a *comparative* symbolic, where comparison is made subservient to the still higher work of criticism. So in the chapter dealing with the significance of the Constantinopolitan Creed—after explaining how this Creed is to the Eastern Church a symbol (in the less technical sense) and a summary of the whole faith, not to be interpreted or explained, but received—honoured alike when, in its liturgical use, it appeals to the ear, and, when sewn upon the robes of a bishop, it appeals to the eye—the token of the “Orthodoxy” of the Church and of its claim to be identified with the Church of the ancient Roman Empire—occasion is taken to point out the different relations to the past assumed respectively by the Eastern and Western Churches. Both claim the note of antiquity; but while the Greek Church is governed by the past, towards which it maintains an attitude of absolute dependence, and which sits upon it like an incubus, the Roman Church does not belong to the past so much as the past belongs to it—is made subservient to its purposes and needs. The Roman is a living, active Church, it makes history; while the Greek is content to stand like a guardian in defence of what it has received.

It was the same unreasoning conservatism which led to the attitude taken up by the Eastern Church in the great controversy in which divergence passed into collision and disruption. The doctrine of the Trinity having been reduced to Creed form and taken into liturgical use, was for the Church of the East fixed for ever. The West, under the leadership of Augustine, reached what was believed to be a necessary completion of the doctrine, and straightway sought to bring its Creed into conformity with its Theology. It is true that the doctrine had from the beginning been somewhat differently conceived in the two Churches, and what appeared as a necessary consequence to the one could not be so obviously necessary when regarded from the standpoint of the other. Nevertheless, Kattenbusch is distinctly of opinion that the point was not considered in the East upon its merits. The position was at once assumed and regarded as impregnable, that the Creed (which, it is true, was generally regarded as having been inspired by the Holy Ghost) should determine the course of theological thought, and not be in any way determined by it.

We pass over with reluctance the sections on the organisation of the clergy, the relations of Patriarch and Pope, besides many inter-

esting points connected with the sacraments, and religious customs generally. One remark in this connection is, however, deserving of special note. It is the extent to which, in the Eastern Church, worship, in its institutional and ritual sense, has overshadowed and absorbed every other interest. Throughout its whole range, it is one great organisation for the performance of rites and ceremonies. "All of which Christianity is thus conscious concerning itself, whether as regards its nature or its limits, is constituted and expressed as ritual. Whatever does not directly belong to ritual is yet, so far as the Church concerns itself with it, determined from this point of view. Ritualistic observances permeate the life of the citizen, and mould the forms of the State. Whoever compares the patristic with the Byzantine periods in the history of this Church must perceive the difference between them to be virtually that between a philosophic view of the world and an absorption in ceremonial observance."

This predominance of ritual is the determining factor in the notion of piety as conceived by the people at large. For them everything which concerns the Church is purely a matter of form, and their religious duty is fulfilled in the conscientious performance of the rites prescribed. Not that they are destitute of moral impulse and guidance. Social and political institutions are under the patronage and guardianship of the Church; and traditional moral principles, of a more or less wholesome kind, are at work in their midst. But the tendency of the system is to repress individuality in moral and spiritual things. Thought is indeed free, and makes use of its freedom in many and marvellous ways. The "orthodox" Church is not "orthodox" in the sense of exacting uniformity of dogmatic opinion. A man may hold whatever views he likes, provided he conforms to the ceremonial practices of the Church. Notwithstanding this, the Church has so established itself in the affections of the people, so inwoven itself with every detail of their life, that it is regarded as the centre and support of the patriotic and national spirit.

On the other hand, the essence of the Monastic piety of the East lies in its mysticism. The life of the monk is a living, a voluntary death. Here, again, a difference between East and West becomes apparent. The *μετάνοια* of the one is somewhat differently conceived from the *pœnitentia* of the other—it is change of mental attitude rather than self-inflicted punishment. The Eastern cœnobite looks not so much to the satisfaction of reward as to the freedom from the tyranny of desire. He would live the angelic life. He finds self-denial favourable to contemplation. To be capable of losing himself in God, of beatific contemplation, is his high and sole reward.

In the Bibliographical lists prefixed to the several chapters we notice references to the works of J. Mason Neale, Dean Stanley, and

Professor Schaff, but none to those of Heurtley, Swainson, and Lumby.

We can only remark, in concluding this review, that we await with pleasurable anticipations the treatment, by the same hand, of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, which will touch our sympathies even more closely, and in which, no doubt, the same massive learning and the same discriminative judgment which are conspicuous in this volume will be again displayed.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

A Christian Apology.

A Christian Apology, by Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph., translated by Rev. Michael F. Glancy and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D. Vol. III. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 8vo, pp. xix. 618. Price 12s. 6d.

THE third and last volume of the translation of Dr Schanz's apologetic work is now published. The two previous volumes having been duly noticed in our columns, it will not be necessary to expatiate on this last instalment. Its subject is the Church, and, of course, its pages contain much more with which Protestants cannot sympathise or agree than the first and second volumes, in which they could go a long way with the able author. But Protestant readers will find the volume interesting, and even instructive, though in its teaching entirely opposed to their convictions; and we should say that any one who wants to have in his library a book that might be referred to as an authoritative statement of Roman Catholic opinion on the subject of the Church could not do better than purchase this work. It has one great merit as it appears in English. There is little in the style to remind us of the original German. It is really English, not German idioms reproduced in an English dress, a result by no means common, or so steadfastly aimed at as it ought to be.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the translator's preface, nineteen pages long. Dr Schobel insists on the cardinal importance of the doctrine of the Church in an apologetic system. "All particular questions are simply dwarfed, and lose their importance when in presence of the paramount and all-momentous question of the true Church. This is the master-point from which alone we can survey the wide sweep of revelation." Holding this view, Dr Schobel naturally proceeds to canvass recent utterances of English divines on the subject of the Church, and, of course, as a Catholic, finds these unsatisfactory. He animadverts in succession on the views of Mr Stanton, the authors of *Lux Mundi*, and Mr Gore in his

Bampton Lectures on the Incarnation. We leave these gentlemen to defend themselves and their Church, if they think it necessary.

The first chapter of Dr Schanz's work has for its theme the "Finality and Development of Christian Revelation." The position maintained is that the Christian Revelation is absolute and final. Being God's word spoken by His Son, it is the perfect word, and therefore the last; no more needs to be said. But the revelation through Jesus, though materially absolute and perfect, does not exclude formal perfectibility or development. In point of fact there has been a continuous progressive movement in doctrine due to two causes: the attacks of heretics, and the tendency towards development which is inherent in all living faith. The Protestant theory is characterised as an "irrational supernaturalism," and it is claimed for the Catholic Church that she holds the golden mean between the fossil conservatism of Greek and Protestant Churches, and the indefinite material perfectibility of Rationalism.

Intelligent readers will know what to expect in a book on the Church by a Roman divine. There are, of course, chapters on the marks of the true Church—the Church apostolic, the Church one, the Church Catholic, the Church infallible, the Church necessary for salvation, the Church holy. Such themes as Scripture and tradition, the primacy of Peter, the primacy of the Pope, and the infallibility of the Pope were not likely to be overlooked. Much that occurs in the chapters dealing with these topics must needs be dull reading to a man of confirmed Protestant convictions. We have been most interested in the chapter which deals with the indispensableness of connection with the true Church in order to salvation. One feels a personal concern in that topic, and wants to know what his own chances of salvation are. We must candidly own that Dr Schanz is very considerate in his treatment of persons in our position. He makes the best excuse for us he can. "We are fully aware," he says, "that those who are born in Protestantism have their minds and hearts from youth upwards poisoned against all things Catholic. Many therefore are undoubtedly in good faith In this sense we grant that intelligent Protestants, from sincere motives do, at times, stay where they are." He even goes the length of reckoning good Protestants as within the Church in spirit, though formally without. "What are called *bonâ fide* heretics must, in all justice and fairness, be morally considered members of the one true visible Catholic Church, though they are not visibly in her communion. Thus it remains true that there is no salvation outside the Catholic Church." If this logic satisfies Catholics, Protestants have no cause to complain. The treatment they receive at Dr Schanz's hands is fully more satisfactory than that of English churchmen who relegate all nonconformists to the uncovenanted mercies of God. What sad

straits Roman and Romanising churchmen put themselves in by their artificial church theories, and how little all these theories and ecclesiastical pretensions have to do with Christ and Christianity. For us the Church is not the *crown* but the *crux* of apologetics, just as Rabbinism was the *crux* of Old Testament religion. An elect people, a God-given law, a sacred literature, and it all came to that !

A. B. BRUCE.

**History of the Christian Church : Modern Christianity—
The Swiss Reformation.**

*By Philip Schaff, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 1893.
2 vols. Pp. 890. 21s.*

MORE than forty years have passed since Dr Schaff published the "History of the Apostolic Church," in which he laid the foundation of this comprehensive work. Some ten years have passed since the earlier work appeared in "a new edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged," as the opening volumes of a General Church History. Subsequent issues have increased the number of volumes to eight, and brought the history down to the Reformation period. Now the veteran investigator and teacher of Church History shows that even his serious illness of last summer has not withheld him from completing another stage of his labours. These two volumes on the Swiss Reformation follow immediately on the two dealing with the German side of the movement, and leave only another volume to follow, to cover the French Reformation, and complete the survey of the period. There is still a gap in the chain, however, where two volumes are wanting to fill up the picture of "Mediæval Christianity." (Dr Schaff, in his prefaces, speaks of one volume but each of these is represented in our English edition by a pair.) Stimulated, no doubt, by the special attention directed to the Reformation period by the various "ter-centenaries" which have recently been celebrated, he has postponed the conclusion of the mediæval period, and opened his history of "Modern Christianity" with two pairs of volumes on the Reformation.

Though complete in themselves, therefore, and having an independent value of their own, these volumes must be received and estimated as a section of a General Church History, whose scope extends from the foundation of the Church until the present day. Regarded as a special period, the Reformation with its heroes has had more attention paid to it than any other, save perhaps the apostolic ; and there are famous monographs, not a few, with which

a work such as this does not and cannot enter into comparison. But for such a general history of the Church as Dr Schaff proposes, and has gone so far to complete, written in English, and from the standpoint of reformed and evangelical theology, there is undoubtedly room. Neander's History, in its English form, may claim to be a standard work ; but it is forty years since the great scholar's death stopped his work at the threshold of the Reformation. Milman fascinates the reader, but provokes the student, who, if he goes on to Robertson, will miss the fascination without evading the disappointment.

Dr Schaff has many qualifications for the task, which few can attempt, and very few complete with success. It is a task for a lifetime ; and he reminds us that he has just passed his jubilee as a teacher of Church history ; and almost every year of the fifty has seen the issue from his pen of some monograph or special study cognate to his subject. His knowledge of the relevant literature is very wide and full, his familiarity with Germany and with the treasures of German libraries, stands him in good stead ; unwearied industry in the collection of materials, considerable skill in arranging them, and a facile style are the external features of his work. He has a keen eye for the results in modern Church history of mediæval principles and positions. His work is absolutely free from "tendency ;" no party spirit is disclosed, either in the selection or the grouping of the facts : the judgments likewise are sober and impartial. The littlenesses, follies and crimes of the Reformers, the blemishes in their systems, whether of doctrine or of government, are frankly exhibited and condemned. These are great excellences, and make the work one to be hailed with satisfaction, even though we miss the brilliancy of some of Dr Schaff's predecessors, and the fascinating generalisations of others.

In the history of the Swiss Reformation Dr Schaff has probably found his most congenial field. He is himself a native of Chur, the capital of the Graubünden, the canton where the Reformation found the most democratic soil. He is now a citizen of the great republic, which has drawn so much of its political and ecclesiastical life, directly or indirectly, from Swiss and Calvinistic sources. This history inevitably groups itself round two individuals and two centres of Reformation activity, Zwingli and Calvin, Zürich and Geneva.

Historians will probably always agree in placing Zwingli beside Luther and Calvin in the forefront of the Reformation movement, but history has done less justice to him than to his fellows. Certainly in the popular estimation and imagination Zwingli occupies far less space. As Dr Schaff shrewdly conjectures, his centenary is not likely to rouse the same enthusiasm as that of either Calvin or

Luther. Yet he only shares, in a greater degree, the misfortune that has befallen his compeers, the misfortune of being temporarily out of fashion, and therefore the safe butt of ignorant and irresponsible criticism. It is a sign of the times, of an age that would fain deny the necessity of the Reformation, and ignore the moral grandeur of the Reformers, that all three men and all three systems are popularly associated in England with their weakest points. Luther is identified with a bourgeois satisfaction in recovered worldly pleasures; Calvin with an unrelenting severity and fanatic intolerance only too indelibly recorded in the execution of Servetus; Zwingli with a reprehensible meddlesomeness in municipal and cantonal politics, of which his death and disrepute are the well-earned penalties. So with the systems—Lutheranism is put for a materialistic mysticism; Calvinism for the *horribile decretum* which the author of the system himself had branded with the name; and Zwinglianism for a low and unsacramental view of the sacraments, which was, in fact, only a stage through which his slowly developing apprehension of the truth must needs pass. Every fresh restatement of the history is a new protest against these one-sided representations. Set in their true relation and proportion, balanced by their true counterpoise, both the views and the characters display the power and grandeur which justify the admiration of three centuries.

The parallel which Dr Schaff draws between Luther and Zwingli is one of the best paragraphs in his work. More emphasis might be laid upon the effect on popular judgment of the character of the initial step in each man's religious experience. Here both Calvin and Zwingli suffer by comparison with Luther. That tremendous spiritual struggle which culminated in the Wartburg was an experience to which, so far as we can ascertain, Zwingli's life afforded no parallel. Luther performed at a bound the personal *volte face* which in Zwingli was the process of several years. The cynically lenient judgment passed by Zwingli on his own early life marks a stage of development which is obviously imperfect; but it is only a stage, and must not be held to determine the final character of the man. And as with his moral judgments, so with his theories. The just historian will trace a steady refinement of the one, and a steadily deepening perception of truth in the other. The German Reformer might well claim to be judged by the beginning, the Swiss by the end, of his spiritual career. Zwingli's rudimentary criticism of Mariolatry was as real though less conscious a breach with Rome, as Luther's violent renunciation of a fundamental doctrine. Both gates opened the way to evangelical life and doctrine; both men are essential types of Protestant life-history. On the only occasion on which the two came into personal contact, in the col-

loquy at Marburg, the honours were undoubtedly carried off by Zwingli. Dr Schaff confirms the opinion of Baur and Martin in saying that Zwingli on "that occasion showed marked ability as a debater, and superior courtesy and liberality as a gentleman."

The account of Zwingli's theology is a careful and sympathetic sketch, which might with advantage have been considerably elaborated. Zwingli's doctrinal divergences were not all of them, as might be inferred from this account, original developments. He not only "prepared the way for Arminian and Socinian opinions," or "anticipated modern opinions"; he did so in a particular way by reaching back behind the great Latin Fathers to the earlier Greek theology and soteriology, and his system exhibits many points of parallelism with Clement, Theodore, and Chrysostom.

In an interesting section on the spread of the Reformation in Switzerland, Dr Schaff takes up one canton after another, to describe the beginnings there of evangelical preaching and the organisation of an evangelical church. Whether it be Basel or Berne, Glarus or the Grisons, the history follows certain well-marked lines. More attention might have been directed to the general characteristics. Such, for example, as the sporadic character of the movement. Derivation from any central source is the exception. As Zwingli taught, preached, and organised in practical independence of Luther, so throughout Switzerland, both in the federated and in the dependent cantons, the Gospel was proclaimed, accepted, and assimilated independently of Zwingli. In its earlier stages in Switzerland the Reformation was less a movement communicated by direct and traceable contact than an atmosphere; it "blew where it listed." Another point to be noted is the administrative powerlessness of the Roman Church. Priests preached from Catholic pulpits against Catholic doctrines unchecked. Chapters and prelates convened and fulminated in vain. In many districts the Catholic Church capitulated and disappeared, almost without a blow. The progress of the Reformation in Switzerland thus lends itself to illustrate the relation between the prevailing form of government and the manner in which the new movement developed. Examples of monarchical or autocratic government conditioning the Reformation must be looked for in Germany. There the movement became a means to political liberty; in Switzerland the political liberty, already achieved, assimilated the Reformation. Among the various cantons may be found every variety of cantonal and municipal government, from oligarchies to pure democracies. Types of these are Zürich and the Grisons. In Zürich the revolt from Rome was consummated by the decision of the magistrates; the new religious organisation was a municipal one; the duties of the inhabitants as Protestants became identical with their duties as citizens. Zwingli

died on the field of Cappel, not as a Reformer, not even as a Protestant pastor, but as a citizen of Zürich.

In the Grisons the Reformation is seen permeating a purely democratic society. From town to town in the Engadine it advances by the vote of the people. The new doctrines are expounded for two or three Sundays in the parish church. The people are convinced. The Commune gives its vote. The mass ceases to be said. The images are removed. Priest gives place to pastor. A Peter Paul Vergerius or an Ulrich Campell becomes evangelical minister of the district. The Commune makes prompt provision for their support. The story of the Reformation in the Graubünden, the Valtelline, and Glarus is one full of picturesque details and of fascinating figures. Dr Schaff would have done well to let some of the realism and romance with which it is invested find expression in his pages.

It is, however, on the second portion of these volumes, the story of Calvin and Geneva, that Dr Schaff has put forth his strength. His method of arranging his material in a number of long paragraphs has the advantage of concentrating all that belongs to one topic under that head. But it necessarily involves considerable repetition and the loss of chronological continuity in the narrative. Apart from this drawback involved in the method of arrangement, this last part of the work can be thoroughly commended. The narrative cannot, of course, be expected to present any new facts. The whole literature has been already so thoroughly examined, Calvin's own voluminous and frank correspondence is so decisive on many points which might be subjects of controversy, that the historian must now lay aside the hope of new discovery and exert his powers on the restatement of familiar matter. By three points in particular he will be tested, his analysis of the Institutes, his account of the theocratic constitution of Geneva, and his treatment of the melancholy affair of Servetus. To each of these Dr Schaff gives careful attention; he is most successful with the last. His account of Calvin's theology leaves something to be desired, especially in regard to its relation with antecedent and subsequent systems. The history and opinion of Servetus are analysed with very great fulness. A valuable *resumé* of Catholic and Protestant opinions on Tolerance and Intolerance is wisely prefixed to the study of his case. No attempt is made to justify the Reformer, beyond showing how universal was the spirit in which he acted, how widespread the approval which his action received. If there is any case in which the "spirit of his age" can be pleaded, and must be pleaded, in extenuation of a man's conduct, it is in the case of Calvin and Servetus. And those who refuse to allow the plea in his case, will generally be found of those who most vehemently insist

on the very same mitigation of judgment on, *e.g.*, the coarseness of Rabelais, Rousseau, or Sterne. The plea must be made in defence of the movement and of the religion of which Calvin was a representative, but the altered standard, according to which we now unhesitatingly condemn such measures, provides in itself an apologetic of no mean value.

The impartiality with which Dr Schaff has treated this important subject, the wide field of authorities on which he has drawn, and his just appreciation of the work of the several Reformers, together give these volumes a claim on the respect and gratitude of the evangelical Church.

CHARLES ANDERSON SCOTT.

Hegelianism and Personality.

By Andrew Seth, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Second series of Balfour Lectures. Second Edition. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1893. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv., 242. Price 5s.

IN this edition the author has added a few notes in reply to criticisms, and made a few slight changes in the text. But he has wisely left the lectures in other respects in the form in which they first appeared. They are too well known to stand in need of a detailed review; but the appearance of this second edition may fitly recall attention to their main argument.

Although the lectures are on Hegel, it is not difficult to see that the author is writing for and to his own time, and that it is the philosophy of T. H. Green, rather than of Hegel himself, that is called in question. Professor Seth treats Green very much in the same way as Green dealt with the writers who largely dominated English thought up to the time of the publication of the *Introduction to Hume*. J. S. Mill and Mr Spencer were the writers with whose influence Green had to contend; but his heavy artillery was directed hardly at all against their lines. He saw through them to the method of philosophising, beginning with Locke and culminating in Hume, of which they were the modern representatives. And it was his aim to show that the ruling sensationalism of the day was simply an anachronism—the survival of an organ whose work had been played out. To do this he fastened upon the fundamental position of this type of thought—the position that the real is to be found in sensation—showed how successive writers had discredited successive portions of knowledge, because they involved rational or mental “superinduction” upon the data of sense, and how the process had ended, in the hands of Hume, in dissolving reality into

mere atoms of sensation, deprived of the principles of connection which knowledge requires. The persistence and subtlety with which Green traced this process and brought its results to light constitute his enduring claim to the gratitude of students of philosophy. But they do not establish a claim for exempting his own constructive doctrine from the same kind of criticism.

There is certainly a curious resemblance between the progress of thought in the empirical philosophy from Locke to Hume, and the successive steps taken by Kant and the writers of the "transcendental" succession—amongst whom Green is to be classed. Locke's enquiry was a purely epistemological enquiry into the origin and extent of our knowledge. The existence of the individual thinker and of a real external world was never questioned by him: although the mind was represented as a mere blank till sensation entered. Sensation is regarded by him as the original of our knowledge; but it soon came to be used as the criterion of reality; and from this sprung the sensational atomism of Hume. Kant's enquiry also was epistemological, and his criticism vindicated the connectedness of knowledge, by tracing in it the presence of a universal element—forms of perception and thought—contributed by consciousness. This universal element is the formal condition of knowledge. By his successors it is identified with the real—an identification never expressed more definitely than by Green. Our knowledge is, he says, constituted by an "eternal consciousness," and this eternal consciousness is "so far realised in or communicated to us through modification of the animal organism."

As Professor Seth points out, Green "avowedly transforms Kant's theory of knowledge into a metaphysic of existence, an absolute philosophy." And the author takes the same way of criticising Green as Green took of criticising Mill. He passes in review the process by which the doctrine of self-consciousness, as the universal formal condition of knowledge, became transformed, in the hands of Fichte and Hegel, into a doctrine of the Absolute Idea, or Universal Self-Consciousness, which sums up all reality. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the clearness with which this point is brought out, or of the skill with which it is again and again enforced, as the author follows the successive steps of Hegel's thought. This argument forms, indeed, the groundwork of the lectures, and on it is based the author's examination of Hegel's philosophy of nature and philosophy of spirit. Against both the same objection is taken: the method of Hegel obliterates real distinctions, both the distinction between God and nature and the distinction between the Divine self-consciousness and that of the individual man. The stress laid on the latter contention justifies the title given to the lectures. "The radical error," says the author, in his conclusion, "both of

Hegelianism and of the allied English doctrine, I take to be the identification of the human and the Divine self-consciousness, or, to put it more broadly, the unification of consciousness in a single self. The exposure of this may be said to have been, in a manner, the thesis of these lectures. This identification or unification depends throughout, it has been argued, upon the tendency to take a mere form for a real being—to take an identity of type for a unity of existence.”

At the same time, the value of the work largely arises from the fact that the criticism is appreciative, although adverse on fundamental points. For Mr Seth himself belongs to the Idealist line of thinkers, amongst whom Hegel is one of the greatest of constructive geniuses. Even for the *Naturphilosophie*—a work which tries the faith of the most devoted followers of the master—Mr Seth is not without a good word, praising what, I venture to think, is not the most admirable quality of Hegel’s writings, his “superb contempt for nature as nature.” Indeed, the author is not without a trace of a similar feeling himself, and speaks of the “non-rational or allogical character” of nature in a way which, it seems to me, is not justified by the state of our knowledge, and would only be justified if knowledge of nature were impossible.

To say that these lectures leave much unexplained, both as to the nature of reality and as to the mode of our cognition of it, is only to say that their object is criticism and not construction. Perhaps the third series of Balfour Lectures will contribute something towards a solution of the questions raised in the present volume.

W. R. SORLEY.

**Reformed Logic : A System based on Berkeley’s Philosophy,
with an entirely new method of Dialectic.**

*By D. B. M’Lachlan. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892.
Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. 233. Price 5s.*

System der formalen und realen Logik.

*Von Dr Georg Ulrich. Berlin : F. Dümmler’s Verlagsbuchhandlung,
8vo, pp. 87. Price, M. 1.80.*

THESE works bear evidence both to the active interest shown in Logic at the present time, and to the confusion which exists regarding the scope of the science. The object of Mr M’Lachlan’s treatise is “to give an intelligible account of the principal facts of mind, with a method for the right expression and criticism of reasoning. It is based,” he says, “on principles not before applied to such a purpose,”—to wit, on “Berkeleyism considerably modified.” But Mr M’Lachlan does not sufficiently recognise the fundamental distinction between psychology and logic. Logic is not a science of

mental facts, but has to treat thinking from the point of view of the criteria and laws which determine its validity.

Dr Ulrich's pamphlet of eighty-seven pages is an attempt at a new theory of logic as the science, not only of the form, but also of the content of thought, the latter part being, indeed, metaphysic, regarded as a division of logic. The pamphlet consists of two parts, on Formal Logic and Real Logic respectively. But in both parts the sequence of thought is arbitrary, while the classification of forms of thought seems hasty, to say the least. Thus the strange view of contrary and contradictory opposition would appear to result from overlooking the distinction between concept and judgment.

Both Mr M'Lachlan and Dr Ulrich seem to have attacked the subject without sufficient appreciation either of its difficulties or of the value of the work which has been already done in Logic.

W. R. SORLEY.

Die Aristotelische Auffassung vom verhältnisse Gottes zur Welt und zum Menschen.

Von Dr Eugen Rolfes. Berlin: Mayer und Müller. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 202. Price, 3 Marks.

On the question of how Aristotle conceived and stated the relations of God to the world and to men much has been written, and almost every writer states it differently. Ueberweg states it one way, Erdmann states it differently, and Schwegler differs from both, and Zeller has something different from all three. In our own country, expositors of Aristotle are by no means agreed on this momentous topic. Sir Alexander Grant, Edwin Wallace, Mr Benn, and Dr Hutchison Stirling have each taken his own view, and supported it by relevant texts. The question might be raised, whether Aristotle had a consistent view of the relation of God to the world, and has expressed it in unambiguous terms. If such a doctrine existed in his works, surely such competent men as those just mentioned might have come to some agreement with regard to what Aristotle actually taught. Is it true that we can find in Aristotle what Schwegler says (I quote from Dr Stirling's Gifford Lecture), "The answer of Aristotle is, that the Good exists in the universe as its designed order and intelligent arrangement; but it exists also, and in a far higher form, *without*, the universe as a personal being who is the ground and cause of this designed order and intelligent arrangement; the principle of *immanence* and the principle of *transcendence* are here brought together and combined in one"? or, as Dr Stirling quotes from Bonitz, "In regard to the nature of the supreme principle and its relation to the world, whether that principle as the Good is to be referred to the divine nature of the first substance or to the

order of the world itself. Aristotle finds that the Good has place in the world in both ways, the possibility of which he illustrates by the example of an army: for the commander is certainly the prime source of the discipline of the army; but, if he has rightly established that discipline, the individual parts of the army accord together of themselves. In the same way, the first cause of that order which we observe in the world is to be assigned to the Supreme Intelligence, but then the parts of the world have been so ordered by him that they are seen to harmonise of their own accord; for all things cohere with all things, and all tend to one." In his own magnificent lecture on Aristotle, Dr Stirling sets forth very much the same view as that held by Schwegeler and Bonitz.

On the other hand, we have such a view as that set forth by Dr Döllinger in his great work on "The Gentile and the Jew," which may be thus summarised. God is simply the final cause of the world. The world itself is eternal, and the cosmos is without beginning and without end. And the ultimate thought of Aristotle is a dualism, the two terms of which are God and the world. God cannot enter into relation with the world as a whole, nor with the particular beings in it. God exerts an influence indeed on the world, but only as the magnet exerts an influence on the iron. But His action on the world is not that of freedom. God is His own object. He thinks Himself, and for God to have any other object than Himself would be an imperfection. It would make Him a mere *δύναμις*, not an *ἐνεργεία*. A potentiality, not an actuality. Döllinger also asserts that for Aristotle there is no question regarding the righteousness or freedom of God, nor any possibility of discussing the relation of God to the good or evil that is in the world. God is apart from the world, its unmoved mover, the object of the world's desire, its goal and end; but God is eternally occupied with Himself, always engaged in the contemplation of Himself, and is always filled with the blessedness of contemplation.

Each of these views has had many exponents. The debate has been very keen, and there is no sign of agreement as yet. In these circumstances a fresh study of this great question is very welcome. Dr Rolfes' work is able and scholarly. On every page there is evidence that he has studied the text of Aristotle with ardour and success. He has also read widely in the literature of Aristotle, and is well acquainted with the scholastic commentaries on Aristotle, particularly with the work of Aquinas. He knows the views of Döllinger and of Zeller. In truth it would be difficult to say what treatise on Aristotle is not known to him. What, then, is the result of this fresh investigation? How are we to think of the relation of God to the world and to Man? We have read the book with very great interest. The result to which Dr Rolfes has come is in

striking agreement with that reached by Dr Hutchison Stirling, and each has arrived at it independently. So there must be some ground for it.

We shall give an outline of the argument. After an Introduction, which describes the interest and importance of the inquiry, Dr Rolfes propounds five theses, and marshals whatever evidence he can gather from Aristotle's works in support of them. These are—

1. The world-movement is evoked by God as its goal, and as its efficient principle.
2. The attitude of Aristotle in relation to the doctrine of Creation.
3. The Aristotelian doctrine of Divine Providence.
4. The Aristotelian doctrine of souls.
5. The Aristotelian doctrine of the final destiny of man, and his ethical teaching.

As regards the first thesis, Dr Rolfes has no difficulty in showing that God is the goal of the world-movement. All expositors are agreed on that point. But the controverted question is, Is God also the working principle, the efficient cause of the world? We are not persuaded by Dr Rolfes that Aristotle held or taught that view. He seeks to prove it, (a) by an analysis of the notion set forth by Aristotle in his physics, that God is the first mover, Himself unmoved. But from this notion we cannot get more than a mere deistic position. It by no means implies that the first mover gave any more than the first impulse to movement. It does not imply a continued action on the part of the first mover; and from this to Dr Rolfes' conclusion that God is the continued efficient working principle of the world's movement the distance is very great. Nor does the second argument (b) from the notion of "pure actuality," "*actus purus*," lead him any nearer to his desired conclusion. In truth, the notion that God is *actus purus* would seem to shut Him out from everything that is imperfect, and to make the process of becoming, altogether alien to Him, a conclusion which is confirmed by the Aristotelian conception of God, as a being who thinks Himself *αὐτὸν ἅρα νοεῖ, ἔπερ ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ νόησις νοήσεως νόησις* (*Meta. A* 9. 1074. b. 34. Berlin Edition of Aristotle). If the characteristic of God according to Aristotle be the thinking of thought, if He is always to Himself the object of His own contemplation, how are we to conceive of Him as related to a world that is imperfect? The two Aristotelian conceptions of God as *actus purus*, and of God as self-thinking thought, are difficult to reconcile, and both of these notions seem irreconcilable with the third notion that God is the efficient cause of the movement of the world. It is quite true that Aristotle says that God is the final cause of the world's movement, and is also its first mover, Himself unmoved, but in both cases the divine action seems, as it were, unconscious, and neither desired nor intended by Him. Dr Rolfes has not been able to overcome this difficulty, and with regard to the first thesis we must

say that it is not proven. As a final argument on this head Dr Rolfes says, "Es ist aber nicht denkbar, dass ein Geist wie Aristoteles in dieser Weise philosophirt habe." As for ourselves, whenever we come across the "nicht denkbar" argument, we set it down as a counsel of despair, for we have often found that what is set down as "nicht denkbar" is the real fact.

If Dr Rolfes has great difficulty in establishing his first thesis, how much greater is the difficulty of setting forth the relation of the Aristotelian doctrine to any real doctrine of creation. He first endeavours to prove that God is, according to Aristotle, the Author of the existence of all things. How is this to be reconciled with the statement of Aristotle that the world is eternal, neither coming into nor passing out of being? (*De Cael.* II. 1, 283, b. 26). Dr Rolfes is himself somewhat conscious of failure here, for he endeavours to buttress his direct attempts at proof by the assertion that creation is not expressly excluded by the Aristotelian doctrine, and also by a reference to Aristotle's teaching as to the origin of souls endowed with reason, and of the heavenly spheres. But these considerations are powerless against the fact that Aristotle taught that the world is eternal.

Difficulties accumulate as we go on, but it is impossible for us to examine all his arguments in detail. We do not find that Dr Rolfes has been able to prove his third thesis regarding Divine Providence. He does not show how it is possible, or how it is consistent with the Aristotelian conception of God, nor has he been able to produce any evidence that Aristotle really held a doctrine of Divine Providence.

The fourth thesis regarding the soul of man is most admirable. It really helps us to understand Aristotle, and is itself a real contribution both to historical exegesis and to philosophy and theology. A similar testimony may be borne to his fifth chapter. But of the book as a whole we must say that Dr Rolfes appears to us to have begun his investigation with a certain presupposition. He wished to find in "the philosopher" the chief elements of the Christian, or shall we say the Catholic, doctrine of God? He has read Aristotle with the eyes of Aquinas. As a consequence, he has gone through the works of Aristotle, not mainly to discover what his teaching is, but with the aim of finding evidence for a certain view, and he has found what he sought for. He has not, however, taken other parts of Aristotle's teaching into account. These parts are in the background, and, when we allow them their due weight, the total result is somewhat different from the account given in the work before us. "It was only in virtue of the material element, which Aristotle included in the Platonic ideas, that these became effective forces. And yet this element is excluded from that which

is intended to be the most real of real things, viz., the Deity. This was unavoidable, for the time had not yet come for the Deity to be conceived as taking *πόνος* upon Himself, without which God lives in heartless enjoyment, troubled about nothing, and through which alone He is Love and Creator. What Plato in the *Parmenides* had beheld only in a passing flash, viz., the union of rest and motion, enjoyment and labour, is a conception grasped only by the Christian spirit. In common with the whole of antiquity, Aristotle also fails to transcend dualism, because he excludes matter from the Deity, to which it therefore remains opposed, even though reduced to a mere potentiality." (Erdmann's "History of Philosophy," English Translation, vol. i. p. 153.)

JAMES IVERACH.

Die Sittliche Weltordnung : Eine Systematische Untersuchung.

Von Friedrich Traub. Freiburg : J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iii., 96. Price, M. 1.60.

THE author states that the essay was written by him in response to a question set by the "Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion." The subject was, "What are we to understand by the moral order of the world?" On what grounds does the recognition of it rest, and in what relation does this recognition stand to religious faith?" The essay is Herr Traub's answer to this question. The directors refused to crown the work, because the author had followed the critical method of inquiry. The directors could not approve of his distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge, nor of his attempt to ground practical knowledge on the moral law, and on the historical revelation of God. So he has published the essay on his own responsibility.

It was worth publishing, and it is pleasant to read. Such a clear, pleasant, incisive style we have scarcely ever met in German. And his thinking is as clear as his style. His exposition of the critical method, and his statement of its results, are most admirable. He follows Kant, no doubt. But Kant's meaning has never been made so clear; nothing could be better put than the distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge, nor anything more satisfactory than the distinction between psychology and the theory of knowledge. Of great value also is the distinction which is drawn between *à priori* and innate; *à priori* tells us what Kant's problem was, while innate tells us what Locke took the problem of knowledge to be. We should like to have this made clear in English psychology, in which these two things have always been confused.

The first part, which deals with the moral order of the world, is simply a clear and beautiful exposition of the critical theory of knowledge. It accepts Kant throughout, but whether Kant's theory is adequate is a question too large for our pages. A good deal has happened since Kant, and Herr Traub has not escaped the influence of the criticism to which Kant has been subjected. He has resisted as much as possible, but he is still troubled with the *Ding an sich*, and with other remains of a dogmatism which Kant had not overcome. He still accepts Kant's categories, notwithstanding their demonstrated insufficiency. Yet he says: "The categories, taken altogether, are only different forms by means of which the one self-consciousness—Kant names it the transcendental apperception—becomes operative and at the same time real. The unities of the categories are species, but the unity of self-consciousness is the genus." This, however, is to depart from Kant. If self-consciousness be the superior category, the critical work of Kant has to be done over again, and the results may be very different. For one thing, the distinction between theoretical and practical knowledge tends to vanish, as also does the distinction between constitutive and regulative principles. In fact, with this category we shall have passed from Kant to Hegel. Herr Traub will find it difficult to maintain these distinctions of his if he gives to self-consciousness all its rights.

Apart from the filiation of the moral order of the world to the general Kantian theory, there is much in the sections on the moral, on the idea of the moral world order, and on the worth of the moral world order of which one can highly approve. The difference between morality and nature is well set forth. "Nature is the expression of a matter-of-factness, as it is constituted by the empirical sciences; the moral is the expression of a law which raises itself above empirical matters of fact." There is an excellent and drastic criticism of the various attempts to deduce the moral law from Endaimonism, from moral feeling, from a moral disposition, from history, or from religion; all these questions are psychological, not ethical. For ethics there is no unconditioned moral law, and the possibility of ethics depends on the recognition of the categorical imperative. In connection with this we have a clear exposition of the universality of the moral law, of autonomy, of freedom, of purpose and personality.

What, then, is the relation of morality to religion? The question gives rise to a most interesting discussion, the practical outcome of which is to show that, unless there is some connection between morals and religion, the inner life of man would be lost in contradictions. Man does not reach his ideal, he cannot realise the good he sees, nor can he obey the categorical law which says, *Thou shalt*.

But at this stage religion comes, and gives to man the certainty "that the world of reality, notwithstanding all contradictory experiences, carries in itself the likeness of good." Religion and morality are thus contrasted. In morality an ideal stands out before the eyes of man; in religion, a good is bestowed on him. Toil in the service of the ideal makes a man good; the enjoyment of religious good makes a man blessed. In his subordination to moral law, man exercises his freedom; in his religious trust in God he experiences his dependence. But religion is such inner union with morality, that the one cannot be thought without the other. The blessedness which man experiences in religion is the blessedness of the moral man. The good which religion bestows on man is a moral good, and can exist only for such men as are in possession of a moral ideal. The dependence which is experienced in religion exists only in interchange with moral freedom, and so on. It is very true, and very edifying; but it is not quite clear how the synthesis has been effected. Herr Traub tries hard to give some independent worth to religion, but he seems to fail. For religion seems to come in only when morality has failed. On his view, if the categorical imperative could realise itself concretely, and if man could realise the good which is shadowed forth by the absolute moral law, then religion would be a superfluous addition. But the question rises, Is his exposition of religion adequate? Is religious faith simply a dependence? Is it not in religious faith, in fellowship with God, that man most fully realises his freedom? In truth, in this section the author is in great perplexity. He has no scientific account to give of the union of morality and religion. They lie side by side, or they work in interchange as mere matter of fact, which also may be a consequence of his distinction between theoretic and practical knowledge, and also of his other distinction between constitutive and regulative principles.

JAMES IVERACH.

Vernunft und Offenbarung bei Johann Gerhard und Melanchthon.

Untersuchung zur Geschichte der altprotestantischen Theologie von Lic. Theol. Ernst Troeltsch Privatdocent an der Universität Göttingen. Göttingen, 1891. (Reason and Revelation with Johann Gerhard and Melanchthon: an Inquiry in the History of the old Protestant Theology.) Pp. 213. Price M. 4.50.

THE object of this dissertation is to exhibit the position taken by the old Lutheran theology in regard to the relation of reason and revelation; and for that purpose John Gerhard is chosen as the

The Critical Review.

representative of that theology in its fully developed scholastic form. The functions assigned to reason in his voluminous system are stated, and it is shown how they formed the basis of the practical arrangement of philosophical and theological study in the German universities under the direction of the Lutheran Church. The general theory under which this was done is traced back to Melancthon, in whose writings the same principles are found in a fresher and more living form; and it is argued that in his view the distinction between reason and revelation and their mutual relation are identical with those between the law and the Gospel in the original Reformation preaching. All this is done with great learning and acuteness; but it might be wished that the form of exposition had been better fitted to help the reader to follow and appreciate the line of argument. This is by no means easy, as the work bristles with quotations, references, and technical terms, and, beyond a brief table of contents that does not throw much light on the line of thought, there are only two divisions, without even titles, and the discussion goes on for over 200 pages of somewhat abstract reasoning, without landmark or guide to show what are the successive stages of the journey or the result of the whole. This makes it impossible to give any more particular account of the contents or estimate of their value.

J. S. CANDLISH.

Dogmatische Studien.

Von Dr Fr. H. R. Frank. Geheimrat u. Professor der Theologie in Erlangen. Erlangen u. Leipzig. 8vo. Pp. iv. 135. Price 2 M.

IN this collection of four treatises, the author's purpose is, as he explains in a brief Preface, to defend his theology, which is the Lutheran, from modern attacks, and to do this in such a way as to learn something from these. In the very opening of the first paper, which is entitled "Faith and Theology," he gives expression to the feeling of being in the midst of a hot conflict against a deadly assault upon the theology of the Church, which has its chief plausibility in the allegation that that theology has moved away from the foundation of living evangelical faith. The reference is to the school of Ritschl; and in order to meet them Frank goes back to the Reformation doctrine of faith as essentially not assent to doctrines but trust in Christ. His opponents allege that it is a departure from this ground to regard any doctrines as necessary to Christian life, but Frank shows that the Reformers did not exclude *notitia* and *assensus* from being elements of faith, and that though later theologians went wrong in attempting to define fundamental articles,

even the Ritschlians cannot really dispense with doctrines of some kind. He then proceeds to a vindication of dogmatic theology, showing it to be founded on living Christian faith, and to have for its purpose to bring out the fulness of meaning that is implied in that faith.

The second paper is on "Subjectivism in Theology and its right"; and is directed in the first instance against those who, alarmed at the critical and religious questions raised in our days, would banish everything subjective from the basis of faith and base it simply on the sure word of God received as undoubtedly true. Frank shows, that however happy such a child-like faith may be for those who are not called to deal with controverted questions, it implies a latent subjective element, which must be distinctly brought out by those who have to explain and defend Christian truth. Then he criticises Ritschl as going too far in the opposite direction, making the ground of our certainty entirely subjective, and recognising no supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in conversion. The same fault he finds with Gottschick, one of the followers of Ritschl; and of the school in general he says, that the supernatural which they recognise is not the true Christian supernatural, but only the superiority of man as a rational and moral agent to the physical world.

The third paper, on "the duplicity of the old and new man, and the unity of the person," deals more fully with the last-mentioned point. The substance of what Frank is here defending seems to be the Augustinian doctrine of the new life imparted by regeneration; but surely he gives it an extreme and untenable form of expression, when he insists that it is the creation of a new ego (*Ich*) alongside of the old, and yet forming along with it but one person. His argument for this is either a mere logomachy, or it is an unintelligible and misleading statement, tending to expose a precious scripture doctrine to objection and ridicule.

The last paper, on "the Law and the Gospel," is much more judicious and valuable, dealing with Ritschl's treatment of the conception of moral government which underlies the evangelical Protestant theology. It shows very satisfactorily the superficiality and weakness of Ritschl's criticism on this point, and the true meaning and importance of the distinction between law and gospel.

Frank is a genuine Lutheran, though not a narrow-minded one; and while admitting defects and mistakes in their great theologians, he is eager to defend them against misrepresentations and objections. These treatises bear occasional traces of the faults incident to earnest controversy, such as excessive keenness of tone and imputation of motives, though on the whole the discussion is conducted in a worthy manner. The author, unfortunately, like too many Germans,

does not possess a clear or interesting style, and does little to help his readers to a distinct understanding of the profound and often abstruse subjects on which he writes.

J. S. CANDLISH.

**Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften
Alten und Neuen Testaments, etc.**

*Herausgegeben von D. Hermann Strack und D. Otto Zöckler. (A.)
Altes Testament. Erste Abtheilung: Genesis—Numeri ausgelegt
von D. Hermann L. Strack. Erste Lieferung enthaltend Genesis
Kap. 1-46. Muenchen, Beck: 8vo, pp. 144. Price M. 2.75.*

PROFESSOR STRACK'S name is not so familiar in this country as it deserves to be. For, as a pure Hebraist, he has probably no superior, at the present moment, either in Germany or elsewhere. He is certainly the ablest Old Testament scholar of the conservative Evangelical party in the Lutheran Church. But a conservative Old Testament scholar in Germany is one thing, and a conservative Old Testament scholar in Britain or America is another thing. Hence Dr Strack's readiness to accept the results of the modern critical school as regards the structure and date of the Old Testament books, while refusing to follow that school in its reconstruction of Israel's religious history, has gained for him the honour of being proposed by Canon Cheyne (see his paper "Reform in the Teaching of the Old Testament," *Contemporary Review*, August 1889) as a model for conservative theologians among ourselves, the results accepted by him to form the basis, "moderate enough," for a "provisional compromise" between the old and the new schools. It is with much interest, therefore, that one turns to this, the first instalment of his long promised commentary on the first four books of Moses.

The general plan of the "Kurzgefasster Kommentar" is familiar to English students from Professor Banks' translations of Orelli's "Isaiah" and "Jeremiah" (T. & T. Clark). Professor Strack deviates slightly from this plan by confining the notes which accompany the German translation to points of grammar and lexicography, with brief exegetical hints, while questions of the higher criticism and any historical or exegetical topics requiring special treatment, are relegated to excursuses appended to the various sections of the narrative. Thus the translation of chap. i.-ii. 3, with brief commentary (pp. 1-4) is followed by no fewer than five such excursuses, dealing respectively with (1) a summary of the creation story; (2) source of the narrative; (3) the Bible and

science, etc. Of the grammatical notes generally it is impossible to speak too highly. The author's long experience as a teacher of Hebrew has enabled him to give just the help that a beginner needs, and no more. References are given throughout to the grammars of Gesenius-Kautzsch and Strack. Professor Strack is at his best in the special notes he has prepared on certain points of special importance emerging from the text; as for example, the construction of אֱלֹהִים as a plural (pp. 67-68), on a certain peculiarity of Hebrew narrative style (p. 81), and on the ending ם in place-names (p. 139). What a wealth of historical and antiquarian research, again, is compressed into his notes on chapters x. and xiv. !

On the other hand his general treatment of the narratives of Genesis will disappoint many, and will certainly bring down upon him those whom Dr Stalker has named "the young lions of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*." Dr Strack, as has been already indicated, accepts the now familiar analysis of Genesis, and even distinguishes, by the use of German and Roman type, the priestly narrative (P) from the prophetic (JE). But while accepting the "sources" as fully established results of critical science, he practically denies that there are any real contradictions among the data of these various sources. The account of creation in chap ii., for instance, is not inconsistent with the account in chap i., neither are the same authorities (P and J) really at variance regarding the duration of the flood (p. 29). Even in the notorious case of Esau's wives, we are cautioned against hastily assuming the statements of the sources to be contradictory on the ground of the "fluidity" of women's names in the East !

It is most to be regretted, however, in the interest of the Church catholic in her struggle with unbelief, that Professor Strack should still regard these early narratives as history. To bring them into harmony with the results of modern science, he is obliged to have recourse to somewhat violent measures, as *e.g.*, in defending the universality of the flood (p. 29), or the possibly historical longevity of the antediluvians of the line of Seth, not presumably of that of Cain (pp. 39-41). Personally I regret exceedingly that my old teacher and friend has not had the courage of an equally earnest and evangelical scholar in our own country (Professor Ryle, "Early Narrative of Genesis") who surely has chosen the "more excellent way."

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges—The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with Introduction, Notes, and Maps.

By Herbert Edward Ryle, B.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1893. Pp. lxxii. 328. Price 4s. 6d.

THE commentator, or annotator rather (for this modest series does not profess to be a commentary), of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah must be prepared to grapple with difficulties in some ways more perplexing and more varied than are to be found in any equal portion of the historical books. His equipment must be of the best, and he must have, if not genius, at least that infinite capacity for taking pains which is said by some to constitute it. That Professor Ryle has this latter qualification in overflowing measure will be admitted by all who will read carefully through this unpretending volume of the Cambridge Bible. Instead of being repelled by, he seems rather to delight in, the almost endless lists and other antiquarian details of the books before us. To his task as annotator he brings a happy combination of enthusiasm and scholarship, the twin requisites of success. The result is a work whose chief characteristic is thoroughness. It is thorough in its handling of the topics coming under the head of introduction, thorough in its treatment of the many historical and archæological difficulties emerging, and thorough in its exegesis.

As to the first-mentioned division of the book (Introduction, pp. ix.-lxxii.), it is certainly full enough to satisfy the most exacting student. In addition to the usual topics of a literary nature, contents, authorship, date, and the like, we have a section devoted to a rapid survey of the eventful century that followed the capture of Babylon by Cyrus (§ 6), and another entitled "Antiquities" (§ 7). Under this somewhat vague but comprehensive title, the author has brought together a large amount of information regarding the mode in which the Persian sovereigns governed the provinces of their great empire, and regarding the constitution of the small Jewish community, its civil and religious organisation, its social condition, etc. The sub-sections dealing with the relative positions of the Priests and the Levites (pp. lii.-lvi.) have been carefully and cautiously drawn up, and deserve the attention of all students of Israel's religious history.

Another introductory topic which Professor Ryle has treated very fully is the interesting but complicated question of the composition or compilation of the books themselves. It is almost needless to say that he assigns the compilation to a date which "can hardly be

earlier, and is very possibly later, than 320 B.C." The student will also find a remarkably complete presentation of the evidence in favour of the now generally accepted opinion that the compiler of our books is identical with the compiler of the books of Chronicles. With regard to the sources from which he worked, Professor Ryle, in my opinion, rightly holds that he had direct access to the Memoirs of Ezra and the Memoirs of Nehemiah. The view that the compiler knew these important documents only at second-hand (so Cornill) seems an altogether unnecessary complication.

On § 8, "Aramaic Dialect and Hebrew Characters," I would simply remark that "daric" is here given as of Assyro-Babylonian, but on p. 37 as of Persian origin. In the grouping of the North Semitic languages, I prefer "Canaanite, including Phœnician and Hebrew," to the author's "Canaanite or Phœnician, and Hebrew" (p. lx.).

In the notes there is ample opportunity for differing on many points where so much is still uncertain. Every page, however, bears witness to the author's patient investigation and impartial judgment. In some cases, indeed, the desire to do justice to both sides has led him to unnecessarily prolong the discussion, as in the note on Ezra iv. 2, where a whole page is occupied in stating the evidence for and against the competing readings ב and ס . Professor Ryle must be commended for his reserve in dealing with questions of topography, and the reasons given in the footnote (p. 166), will be appreciated by all. I would point out, however, that the map of Jerusalem at the end of the volume is very inadequate, and that in a second edition it would be well to bring it into accord with the conclusion recorded on p. 182, that "the 'city of David' . . . known as Zion, lay on the eastern or Temple Hill." In the map facing the title-page, too, "Persia" is somewhat misleading, if meant to represent the modern country, and erroneous, if meant to show the ancient kingdom of that name. I had, further, noted a few points of minor importance which seem to require re-consideration, but shall mention only the two following. (1) Is it likely that the people, assembled on a memorable occasion at the Water Gate, "resumed their seats" (see note on Neh. viii. 5) during the reading of the Law? Is it likely that they had seats at all? Does not the last clause of verse 7 show that they stood throughout, and is not this the natural attitude for an oriental crowd on such an occasion? (2) In the following chapter (Neh. ix.)—see note on verse 21—the statement that "the language of the Deuteronomist is doubtless hyperbolic" is not the explanation one would have expected from the author of "The Early Narratives of Genesis." The Deuteronomist was surely

stating what he believed to be an historical fact, a part of the miraculous experience of the desert wanderings. Have we not here (*i.e.*, in the original passages, Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5) another hint that the exodus and the wanderings lay far behind the author of Deuteronomy?

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Did Moses Write the Pentateuch after all?

*By F. E. Spencer, M.A., formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, &c.
London: Elliot Stock. Pp. x., 291. Price 6s.*

THE title of Mr Spencer's book sufficiently explains its *raison d'être*. It is a vigorous plea for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and a counterblast to all modern critics in general, and to Professor Driver and his "Introduction" in particular. "*Elan and brilliancy*," we are told, may be the characteristics of those who would rob the Hebrew legislator of his literary fame, but "the duller qualities of courage are needed in defence" (p. 57). Of this latter virtue there is assuredly no lack in the volume before us. No leader of a forlorn hope on the field of battle has shown a greater courage than this latest apologist of Jewish tradition. But, unfortunately, other and perhaps duller qualities are required if one would undo, as Mr Spencer here attempts to undo, the work of a century and a half of patient and laborious research. Ability to understand aright the question at issue is one such quality. Does our author possess it? Surely a little hesitation on this point is excusable, when one reads in his preface that "the writer is firmly of opinion that Moses is not played out" (and passages of similar import and elegance abound), and that "to restore him is one of the greatest needs of the age" (p. vi.) Mr Spencer, in short, imagines that modern criticism, in refusing to credit Moses with the authorship of the Pentateuch, has reduced him to a myth, asserting "that the towering genius and ascendancy of Moses was entirely the creation of a later and by no means famous age" (p. 14). That such an opinion is a thorough misrepresentation of the critical theory *per se* need scarcely be affirmed.

When we find the author, further, in his opening chapter attempting to vindicate the Mosaic authorship, as handed down by "literary tradition," by an appeal to the "Commentaries on the Gallic War" and the "Dialogus de Oratoribus," which are accepted as the works of Cæsar and Tacitus respectively, on the evidence of contemporary writers, we naturally ask, but we ask in vain, for similar evidence in the case of the Pentateuch.

One of the most elaborate sections of the work is in the shape

of a note to Chapter I. (note C, pp. 57-97). It is headed "The unreality of the supposed documents or sources. The character and phraseology of P." Now, one would have supposed that, however Old Testament students may differ regarding the dates and, to a less extent, regarding the limits of the "documents or sources" in the Pentateuch, they are all agreed that documents of some sort are clearly recognisable. But Mr Spencer cannot away with any such modern delusions. These "divisive or compilation theories" are "as remarkable a patch-and-botch work as exists" (p. 57). Accordingly, when he suggests that Professor Driver must have "had apparently a private communication from the redactor" regarding a suggested distribution of Gen. vii. 1-10, we cannot help seeing how utterly out of sympathy he is with all that has been done by successive generations of students, from Jean Astruc downwards, in the literary analysis of the Pentateuch. There is no evidence from beginning to end of the book of the writer's acquaintance at first hand with the works of Eichhorn, or Hupfeld, or De Wette, or even of Dillmann; and in quoting from a translation of Riehm he is particularly unfortunate in calling him a disciple of Wellhausen!

Passing to another part of the book, which deals with the authorship of Deuteronomy, we find to our surprise that Mr Spencer is, after all, not so orthodox as we had supposed. Driven by the critics to admit the very clearly marked distinction between Deuteronomy and the four preceding books, Mr Spencer is obliged to maintain the Mosaic authorship of this book at the expense of the Mosaic authorship of the other four! "It is enough to believe that Moses was the mediator of the former part of the Pentateuch" (p. 178), a statement which is not so clear as it might be, but which is evidently to be understood in the light of the more explicit statement on page 192: "The rest of the Pentateuch was under the superintendence of Moses, but here in Deuteronomy we have his own words and compositions." In an earlier part of his book Mr Spencer has made merry over "The critical *ipse dixit*" (note B, pp. 52-57), but we have many examples of the same phenomenon from his own pen. Thus, in reply to Professor Driver's assertion "that the early prophets show no certain traces of the influences of Deuteronomy," he remarks: "But it is the theory that makes this so, not the facts. The facts are just the other way" (p. 180); or again: "The statement (of Professor Driver) must be met with a direct denial." But when we ask for proofs we are referred elsewhere (p. 181). The "critical *ipse dixit*" is no doubt very aggravating, but the *uncritical* is even more so. I must, in conclusion, warn the English reader against the formidable but thoroughly misleading list of antiquated words and expressions (pp. 224-243), alleged to prove the antiquity of the Pentateuch. A

single glance is enough to show an intelligent student of Hebrew that the great bulk of these are *termini technici*, never required, and therefore never occurring outside of the Pentateuch. Yet, while dissenting from the author's arguments, one must admire his courage and acknowledge his, on the whole, generous attitude towards his opponents.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert.

Von Eduard Reuss ; herausgegeben aus dem Nachlasse des Verfassers von Lic. Erichson und Pfarrer Lic. Horst ; Zweiter Band. Die Propheten. Braunschweig : Schwetschke und Sohn. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 574. 7s. nett.

IN selecting the books to be included under the title "Prophets," Reuss does not wholly follow the grouping of either the Jewish or the Christian Bibles. He not only excludes Daniel, but also Jonah. He considers that Jonah does not possess the characteristics of a prophetic scripture, and accordingly relegates it, as a late didactic composition, to the company of Tobit and Susannah. But if criticism reduces the quantity of prophetic literature, it increases the number of prophetic books. The English Version has sixteen such books, Reuss has twenty, and one of these twenty contains five prophetic utterances, which are probably not all by the same author. Of these twenty books, seven are anonymous, Malachi being treated as a title and not a proper name. The order is chronological, and the way in which these changes have been brought about will be conveniently shown by a brief statement of Reuss' views as to the date and authorship of the books.

Joel is assigned somewhat doubtfully to the ninth century ; the Oracle on Moab, Isaiah xv., xvi. is dated about B.C. 800 and is anonymous ; Amos, about B.C. 790-770 ; Hosea and the anonymous prophecy, Zech. ix.-xi., about the middle of the eighth century ; Isaiah, B.C. 740-700 ; Micah, about B.C. 725 ; the anonymous prophecy, Zech. xii.-xiv., the first half of the seventh century ; Zephaniah, about B.C. 630 ; Nahum, the second half of the seventh century ; Habakkuk, about B.C. 604 ; Jeremiah, B.C. 628-586 ; Ezekiel, B.C. 594-572 ; the anonymous prophecy, Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii., about B.C. 570 ; the anonymous prophecies, Isaiah xiii. 1-xiv. 32, xxi. 1-10, xxxiv., xxxv., and Jeremiah l.-li., about B.C. 540 ; the anonymous prophecy, Isaiah xl.-lxvi., B.C. 536 ; Haggai, B.C. 520 ; Zechariah i.-viii., B.C. 520-518 ; Obadiah, fifth century ; and finally,

the anonymous prophecy which bears the title Malachi or Messenger, about B.C. 440. We may notice the chief points as to which Reuss is at variance with some prevalent theories. He adheres to conservative views in making Joel the earliest, instead of one of the latest, of the prophets. He declines to discuss the integrity of Micah. Isaiah xix. 18-25 is included among the genuine portions of the book. The integrity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. is strenuously maintained; but when this is stated as the general opinion: "Jedermann ist überzeugt dass das Buch, wie es vorliegt, ein Ganzes bildet," it is clear that the introduction to II. Isaiah must have been written some time ago and not since revised.

The volume begins with an introduction of forty-six pages on the Prophets and their work; and a very brief introduction is prefixed to each of the books. Reuss insists with great emphasis that prophecy was the unique and supreme possession of Israel. Moses was the first of a continuous succession of prophets, and the source of a continuous prophetic tradition. To this continuity the schools of the prophets largely ministered. On the basis of a few scattered references Reuss constructs a comparatively complete account of those "schools,"—they condescended to teach reading and writing, they preserved and handed down what was known of medicine, they studied religious learning, social morality, and elementary jurisprudence. Our data, however, scarcely warrant a belief in such formal, continuous, and elaborate institutions; and it is very doubtful whether Isaiah or Jeremiah owed any appreciable debt to the professional guilds or schools of the prophets.

After showing how the title *Nabi*, Prophet, indicates a far higher spiritual level than the earlier title Seer, Reuss proceeds to speak of the prophets whose works are extant. Of these he says, "The leading elements of their writings are no secret to us; we understand their teaching and conflicts, as well as their contemporaries can have done, and infinitely better than those who, for two thousand years, have sought in their writings for things of which the prophets never thought." As the result of this full and clear understanding, Reuss claims for the prophets "an immediate communion with the source of all truth and goodness." He repudiates the idea that they countenanced polytheism in any form, or shared the popular idea that Yahwê was a national god of limited powers, one among many national deities. The religion of the prophets was pure monotheism. In speaking thus of "the prophets" generally, we have already indicated the comparatively slight treatment accorded to the theology of the prophets. In the general introduction this subject is not dealt with in periods, but under topics, and any attempt to characterise the teaching of individual prophets and the development of their theology is dealt with in the special intro-

duction to each book, and with exceeding brevity even there. The points dealt with in the general introduction are already familiar, but are set forth with great force and lucidity; the elements of permanent value in the various doctrines of the prophets are dwelt upon with most emphatic sympathy. Many sections are devoted to the prejudices which mislead students of prophecy; it is to be hoped, that when Christians become familiar with the principles and results of criticism, it may be possible to use a more positive method.

Other sections are devoted to the style of the prophets, and the symbols and figures used to convey their teaching. Reuss also deals with the relation between the extant books and the actual spoken prophecies. In some cases we have abbreviated and obscure reports of spoken addresses, as in Amos and Hosea; but for the most part, in Ezekiel, &c., we have literary works composed in the prophet's study at his writing table (*der häuslichen Arbeit am Schreibtisch*).

The translation and notes have the same popular character as those in the first volume. The translation is arranged as poetry, to represent the metrical structure of the original. The word-play of the original is often imitated: thus, Isaiah iii. 1, "*was schützt und stützt*," for "*mash'ên ûmash'ênâ*," "*stay and staff*;" again, Isaiah v. 7, "and he waited for *mishpât* (judgment) and behold *mishpâh* (bloodshed), for *q̄dhâqâ* (righteousness) and behold *q̄câqâ* (a cry)."

" *Er wartete auf Gutthat
und siehe da Blutthat
auf Gerechtigkeit
und siehe da Schlechtigkeit.*"

Here, as elsewhere, vigorous and idiomatic German is regarded as more important than an exact reproduction of the Hebrew. Reuss seems more anxious to make a fairly adequate impression upon the average reader than to bring out the exact shades of meaning for the benefit of Hebrew scholars. We may call attention to his rendering of two or three important passages. In Isaiah liii. 10, where A.R.V have "thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin," Reuss has the remarkable rendering "thou wilt not give up his life as an offering for sin," taking 'im as in an oath-formula. But 'im can scarcely have this force in its present connection, nor does the sense suit the general context. In the text of Jer. li. 41 he replaces the enigmatical *Sheshach* by the *Babel* it is intended to represent, and in Jer. xxv. 26 omits the clause containing *Sheshach* as a gloss. In Zech. iii. 8, where Joshua's companions are said to be A.V. "*men wondered at*," R.V. "*a sign*," they are here "*Vorbilder*," types of a future holy dispensation.

There is one inconvenient feature in the arrangement; the authentic prophecies of Isaiah are arranged in chronological order,

but no table is given by which the reader can at once discover the whereabouts of any given chapter.

This volume, like its predecessor, renders a great service to the Church by setting forth the results of criticism in a clear, frank, compact, and suggestive exposition of text and summary of introduction. For scholars it will supplement larger works, just as a small map with clear outlines and a few leading names serves as a guide to more complete and elaborate charts, where the wealth of information bewilders and confuses.

W. H. BENNETT.

Three Centuries of Scottish Literature.

By Hugh Walker, M.A., Professor of English in St David's College, Lampeter. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. x. 473. 10s. nett.

THE object of these volumes is to examine a period of Scottish Literature which has not before been treated of as a whole. The writer points out that the History of Scottish Literature—Gaelic Literature is not included—falls naturally into two great periods. The first extends from the earliest times up to the beginning of the influence of the Religious Reform upon letters; the second from that time to the present day. It is with this latter period that we are here concerned: the essays begin with Lindsay and end with Scott.

Mr Walker's method is almost as fresh as his subject. One of the essays—that on Knox—has already appeared in print, but is almost entirely re-written, and forms an organic part of a book which is much more than a series of independent essays. The subject is Scottish Literature, not Scottish literary men. Thus it is that Hume and Robertson, Fletcher of Saltoun and James Hogg obtain no place in its pages, the reason given being very satisfactory—the historians were almost entirely Anglicised; Fletcher formed no integral part of any movement, and was not a big enough man to deserve treatment on his own merits; Hogg was eminently Scottish, but all that could be learnt from him could be learnt better from the greater Burns. It is a pity that Hogg is cast out, and if the principle of his exclusion were rigidly applied several of the smaller men treated of in the second volume would have to join the shepherd in the outer darkness.

These smaller men—the Anglo-Scottish poets of the eighteenth century—prove the least interesting of all the writers in the book, and that neither because they are uninteresting in themselves, nor because the author is not interested in this part of his work. On the contrary, many of the happiest touches in the book are to be

found in the two chapters dealing with those Anglo-Scottish poets. The cause of the comparative lack of interest here is the necessarily fragmentary character of the estimate of each of the men. Even writers of such acknowledged excellence of style as Saintsbury fail to make a chapter interesting, and yet cover a number of small men and their works. Indeed, Mr Walker has reduced the catalogue-style to its minimum of dullness. He has not learnt the art of making himself dreary by saying everything about a thing that can be said about it. He omits generously, and almost all the names he recognises can justify their claims on our attention. The book works with principles, illustrates by specimens, and reduces brute facts to that subordinate place in which philosophers love to see them.

Mr Walker's literary criticism is perhaps at its best in a somewhat unexpected quarter. His estimate of Thomson is singularly fresh and suggestive. Not only does he most skilfully maintain the somewhat paradoxical position that this poet, who only wrote one piece in Scotch, is more characteristically Scotch than most of his fellows, but in the more purely critical lines he throws much new light on Thomson's style and genius.

The chapters on Scott and Burns are equally happy, but here the author has less scope. It is almost impossible now for anyone to say anything new about these two names without rushing into foolish paradoxes or wild exaggerations, which is exactly the thing that Mr Walker never does. The leading feature of the whole book is its reasonableness. The author is in earnest, and the little playful side-touches, recurring at all points, only give zest to the reading without in any way detracting from the solidity of the work.

Where we in these pages come most into touch with Mr Walker is in the treatment of Lindsay, Buchanan, and Knox. Here Philosophy and Theology claim some attention, though our author is not very fond of parading his knowledge of either. To the ordinary lay mind it is surprising to find that an inferior poet is remembered longer than a better poet because the inferior poet wrote more on religious topics—and to the English lay mind the statement is incredible. Yet few Scotsmen will be found to challenge our author's explanation of Lindsay's longer popularity than Dunbar's. Not that Lindsay was a theologian in any strict sense of the term. Church Politics and the morals of Churchmen were his real subjects, yet here, as elsewhere, we cannot separate theory from practice. Every Ethic is based upon a Metaphysic, and Theology is not quite so far removed from the affairs of life as some practical people would have us believe. Thus our author clearly shows that whichever was the initial force, Lindsay's Church politics and his theology developed together.

The chapter on Buchanan is eminently just, alike in the estimate

of his character and of his influence on Scotland. There are three popular ideas of Buchanan, all widely different, and all having some foundation in fact. Scholars think of him as a brilliant Humanist; ignorant country louts think of him as a lewder Joe Miller; decent country folk of mature years speak of him as "the man that wrote the Psalms." To these estimates modern criticism adds a new term, and speaks of Buchanan *the Reformer*. His title to this character has been loudly questioned, but our author fairly establishes the claim. Like Lindsay, Buchanan became a Protestant from without inwards. He began attacking the Churchmen, and ended by rejecting the doctrines that could produce such men. Lindsay's Protestantism developed almost unconsciously, but Buchanan saw clearly where he was going. Only those who are still able to believe in the ambiguity of the *Palinodia* will be inclined to question Buchanan's deliberate rejection of the older doctrines. He is the Erasmus of the Scottish Reformation; but his exact theological position is not dealt with in this book, nor is his relation to John Major more than hinted at. To a man of Mr Walker's philosophical bent this means great self-restraint.

The chapter on Knox gives an admirable account of the life and work of the Reformer. On the theological side our author is very cautious. He does not take a high view of Knox's powers as a theologian. He was an admirable polemic, and all his best work consisted of "replies." The man was born for fighting, and had he remained at Geneva would never have been more than a second-rate disciple of Calvin. "Doubtless, a professed theologian could point to some shades of opinion which he would mark off as the special contribution of Knox; and he certainly showed great resource in adapting the ecclesiastical polity of Calvin to new conditions and surroundings. But the fact remains that no world-stirring doctrine, nothing that any spirit higher than the bigotry of sects would fight for, belongs especially to Knox." The treatise on *Predestination* gets a short shrift at Mr Walker's hands. "It is Calvin over again, but in a different atmosphere. Calvin knows, Knox feels; and some of the weaknesses incidental to feeling appear in his pages." Again, "The doctrine of the book need hardly be criticised." With this remark no one will grumble. As stated by Knox, the doctrine has only an antiquarian interest, and even that interest is exhausted in the case of such a well-known subject.

Admirably done, but of less interest to us here, are the estimates of the *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*, and of the *History of the Reformation in Scotland*. There is a specially virile ring about the treatment of Knox's character. Nothing is passed lightly over in either character or conduct, but

the whole examination is evidently the work of a man who is in intense sympathy with his subject.

The rest of the work—including The Poets of the Seventeenth Century, the Ballads, and the Songs—is not quite germane to the subjects of this Review. Throughout the book there is unmistakable evidence of wide knowledge, alike of original works and standard authorities. The style is excellently adapted to the subject in hand, and the book most satisfactorily fills a long-existing blank in the Critical Literature of Scotland. J. ADAMS.

Old Testament Theology. The Religion of Revelation in its Pre-Christian Stage of Development.

By Dr Hermann Schultz, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by the Rev. J. A. Paterson, M.A. Oxon., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. In Two Volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 438, 470. Price 18s. nett.

AN English translation of Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie* has been widely desired. It is now happily provided by Professor Paterson, to whom it has been a labour of love. Professor Schultz has himself revised the proof sheets, and gives the translation his *imprimatur*. Of the merits of the rendering, therefore, nothing further needs be said. Professor Paterson is thoroughly familiar with the book and with its subject. He has succeeded in furnishing a translation that is not only faithful but a delight to read. There is no cumbrousness in the style, and no doubt left as to the meaning of the original, even in its most lengthened and intricate discussions. The two handsome volumes in which the translation appears, show that the publishers also have done their best to make the book attractive to English readers.

It is superfluous to speak of the value of Professor Schultz's work. Its merits have long been acknowledged by students of all schools, even by those who dissent most vigorously from its treatment of much that is contained in the historical books. To a large extent Professor Schultz holds a middle position, as his translator remarks, between the school represented by Delitzsch and that of which Stade is a fair example. His construction of the Theology of the Old Testament combines in some measure the best elements in the comparative conservatism of the former with the more reasonable methods and conclusions of the extremer criticism of the latter. Professor Schultz, indeed, is refreshingly appreciative of

other scholars (not an every-day virtue of the German theologian), and frank in his recognition of any points of agreement between their work and his own. In many respects Von Hofmann of Erlangen and Beck of Tübingen stand far apart from Professor Schultz. But this does not prevent our author from doing ample justice to the many points of contact between his own *Alttestamentliche Theologie* and the *Schriftbeweis* of the one or the *Lehrwissenschaft* of the other. The only recent writer of real importance whom he inclines to underrate is, strange to say, Ewald, whose *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, rich as it is in large, suggestive thought, is described as of little service in these inquiries by reason of its "peculiar combination of ethical dogmatics with Biblical theology." Oehler's contributions to the subject are more justly valued. They are allowed to have been "specially great," although his *Theologie des Alten Testaments* is said "not to contain very much beyond what the author himself had previously given to the world in separate essays." Oehler's work, indeed, was all of the first order. We confess to a partiality still for his treatment of Old Testament Theology. His book was a masterly book for its time, greater in relation to its time than any more recent work of the kind, and of conspicuous service still, especially in the newer editions, which have been brought very much up to date. But Professor Schultz's book has the great advantage of having been written throughout in the light of the most recent criticism. It is also much more complete and systematic than Riehm's *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, published in 1889. It stands at present, therefore, in the foremost place in this fruitful field of theological inquiry, and it is based throughout on a careful exegesis.

The first difficulty with a treatise of this kind is to find a plan that will fit the existing condition of Old Testament criticism. In the first edition, which appeared in 1869, Professor Schultz dealt with the facts and conceptions which made the religion of Israel as falling within the three successive stages of Mosaism, or the Mosaic period, the Prophetic period, and the Levitical period. In the second edition, issued in 1878, the change in the critical view led to a radical change in the scheme of the book. *Mosaism* ceased to occupy the distinct place which it formerly had, and the method followed was to arrange the matter under three topics—*first*, the development of the religion on to Ezra's time; *second*, Israel's consciousness of salvation at the end of the Prophetic period; and *third*, Israel's religious view of the world at the end of the same period. To this was added a historical account of the passage of the Old Testament religion into Judaism. In the fourth edition neither of these plans is adopted; but we have the whole matter brought under two main divisions—*viz.*, *first*, The Development of

Religion and Morals in Israel down to the Founding of the Asmonæan State ; and *second*, Israel's Consciousness of Salvation and Religious View of the World, the Product of the Religious History of the People.

Probably this, though by no means an ideal method, is as good a plan as is practicable at present. Indeed, unless we were able to fix with certainty the dates of all the documents, and also to determine how much earlier the beliefs themselves were than the documents in which they happen to be conveyed to us, we must be content with something far short of the ideal in the scheme of an inquiry of this kind. The method which Professor Schultz adopts has the advantage of giving us first a continuous study of the movement of the life of the Hebrew people from its pre-Mosaic origins, through the periods associated with the names of Moses and Samuel, on to the eighth century, and through all the changes which took place in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Ages, till it came to its conclusion in the Greek and Maccabean times. He is then in a position to attempt a systematic study of the religious beliefs, hopes, and doctrines. Both things are done with great skill, and the former is made the scientific preparation for the latter. In the sketch of the history of the nation's life he brings the beliefs as far as possible into relation to historical events and periods. On the basis of this, he proceeds in the latter to give a scientific account of the Hebrew ideas of the Covenant, righteousness, grace, faith, law, holiness, atonement, the Hebrew doctrine of God and His relation to the world, the Hebrew view of man, sin, death, and the state after death, and, finally, the hope of Israel.

The results of the studies of many years are applied to the discussion of these subjects. No one can read without instruction, though he may sometimes dissent. The thing that many will find openest to criticism in the historical statement, is the treatment of the earlier history. There is so much of it that is shortly disposed of as legendary or mythical. This is done, not only very summarily, but without any adequate investigation of Hebrew tradition in its connection with, or in its difference from, the general Semitic tradition. In the treatment of the doctrine, too, there are some things, though not many, in which Professor Schultz gives way to certain views of his own. He takes over the most characteristic of the positions stated in his earlier work, the *Voraussetzungen*, and among these his idea of the Old Testament doctrine of man's natural mortality. In what he says on this subject, he is less clear than is his wont. He fails to see that the Old Testament does not concern itself with dogmas like that known among us as Conditional Immortality, but has a broader and more fluid doctrine of man. In point of fact, too, he practically concedes all that those of the opposite

way of thinking need contend for, when he grants that persistent life for man was in the *idea* of man according to the Old Testament.

Among the many points of interest which present themselves in Professor Schultz's interpretation of the faith of Israel, we can at present notice only one or two. One of these is the view which he takes of the earlier stages of the religion of Israel. He denies the historical probability of Stade's theory that the primitive religion, and indeed the dominant element in Israel's whole mode of worship and in the entire pre-prophetic period, was a species of *animism*, or more particularly, a form of spirit-worship consisting in the adoration of departed ancestors and heads of families and clans. He holds that the pre-Mosaic religion rose out of the simple elemental religion of the Semites, which was not pure Monotheism, though favourable to it; that the worship of a tribal god passed, as reverence for that god deepened, into what was practically the faith in one God; and that the worship of Jehovah was older than Moses.

The subject of *sacrifice*, again, is discussed at length and with much acuteness. He is unable to interpret it as having a vicarious, substitutionary, penal, meaning. He thinks that the idea of atonement by substitution did not arise till a comparatively late period, when the Mosaic principle of earthly reward for righteousness and earthly penalty for sin was seen not to square with the experience of the nation and the individual, and when as yet there was no distinct belief in the compensations of a future life. The spectacle of the suffering of the innocent was in these circumstances accounted for, our author thinks, by supposing that the righteous suffered vicariously, as a substitutionary sacrifice, with a view to remove the sins of the people. But he is equally unable to accept Professor Robertson Smith's theory, that the import of sacrifice lay in the idea of a "communion of life between God and His worshippers," which was "effected by their partaking of the flesh of the same animal." His own conclusion is, that the thank-offerings were "meant merely to express a specially pious frame of mind;" that it was "simply as a part of human food, of human property, that the animal was given back, just as a vegetable gift might be, to God the Lord and Giver of all"; that the burnt offering merely expresses the idea of unreserved devotion to God; and that, even in the case of expiatory offerings, the sprinkling with blood means nothing more than the "appropriation to God of the animal's life, the accomplishment of the penance demanded by Him through the surrender of that sacred thing, the mysterious centre of life." There is much that seems short of the case in these discussions, able and interesting as they are. Is it enough, *e.g.*, to say of the blood shed and sprinkled, that it forms the "robe in which the priest arrays the sinner, so that he may appear before God"?

In nothing is Professor Schultz more successful than in his account of Hebrew belief and Old Testament teaching on the *state after death*. Occasionally he may have recourse to a *tour de force* in dealing with exegetical difficulties, as for instance, in Job xix. 25, &c. But he gives us much of his best work in following the history of the great conceptions of Resurrection and Judgment, until in Daniel we reach the belief in a resurrection and righteous award for all at least in Israel. The book is a weighty contribution to the just appreciation of Old Testament teaching, one which all scholars must value, and which will open to many English readers a world of new ideas.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The Evolution of Religion.

By Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L. Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons, 1893.
2 vols. Vol. I., pp. 400; Vol. II., pp. 335. Price 14s. net.

WE have here at last a Gifford lecture of primary importance, with all the merits proper to the work of a strong and scrupulous philosophical mind. Whatever the defects of this book, it cannot be charged with haste or incidentalism, the sin to which such lecture-ships most sorely tempt men. The last fault that can be attributed to its author is that, having been called to a serious business, he lacked either the time or the will to take it seriously. The materials here used have all been passed through the mind again and again before being worked up into their present shape, which may indeed be described as due to a process of crystallisation rather than of architecture. And the purpose has been as serious as the labour. The book is a sort of *Eirenicon*; its aim may not be to "succour a distressed faith," but it certainly seeks by detaching "what is permanent from what is transitory," to enable those who cannot be orthodox to remain still religious and still Christian. It attempts to do this by means of what we may call a threefold philosophy—of religion, of the historical religions, and of Christianity both as historical and as theological. But beneath all, and determining all, is a metaphysic which must be understood before the argument can become intelligible, and accepted before its relevance or cogency can be felt. Apart from the metaphysics, the history and the historical interpretations will hardly appear adequate or valid.

The standpoint, method, and terminology tend to awaken recollections that rather embarrass by the comparison they challenge. These lectures do anything but repeat Hegel's *Religionsphilosophie*,—Professor Caird is too independent a thinker to be the echo of

any man—but they recall it quite as much by their differences as by their agreements. The doctrine is Hegel's—the idea of religion, the formal distinctions, what we may call the philosophy of the religious consciousness and its dialectical explication, giving the law and process or stages of its development—but the history and the theological interpretation are not. Professor Caird's history is more occasional and less detailed; he does not attempt like Hegel to classify, characterise, and describe the historical religions, but contents himself with illustrative discussions, save in the case of Judaism and Christianity, though also in a degree of India and of Greece. And as regards theological interpretation, he is much less speculative than Hegel: dogmas attract him less, the historical and personal attract him more. He does not so much seek to construe the doctrines of Christianity into their philosophical equivalents as to exhibit its history as an exemplification and verification of his psychological idea or law. He does not insist on the material identity, in spite of their formal difference, of philosophy and religion, though he as radically conceives the whole process of religious evolution as an intellectual movement, a dialectic worked by the successive positings, articulation, and correlation of the three ideas of the Not-Self, the Self, and God. We may express the difference by saying that Hegel lived before the era of historical criticism, but Caird lives after it, and so, while the former was more concerned with the theological conception of Christ, the philosophical truth of the idea or belief of the Church concerning Him, the latter is more occupied with the mind and person of the historical Jesus, and the relation in which He stood to Judaism on the one hand, and the Apostolic men on the other. But in both cases the regulative idea is philosophical; the religion appears and is construed in obedience to a law that is expressly and essentially intellectual, and so is conceived more as philosophy than as religion.

From this fundamental attitude of thought comes one of the main defects of the book—a law of mind or logic is made to govern the development of religion and the course of its history, with the result that we have an inner and dialectical process made the formula or framework for an outer and actual. The theory controls the history; the history does not suggest and verify the theory. Thus particular instances which happen to illustrate the philosophical principle, are raised to the dignity of universal laws. And so it is said, "Pantheism is simply the culminating phase of Polytheism; and Monotheism, in the strict sense of the term, always arises in direct opposition to both" (Vol. i. p. 41). But the historical study of religions proves that this is not by any means always the case. Out of the Polytheisms that have become Pantheistic no Monotheism

has ever arisen ; while the Polytheisms out of which Monotheisms have come have had no innate tendency to Pantheism. What determines the movement in each case is not simply the dialectical law, but the forms it uses or the medium in which it lives. The Nature that confronts mind, and the vehicles it presents to thought, are as necessary factors of religious development as the mind itself. They are factors indeed in a somewhat different sense, but each alike helps to determine the complete result. Thought, or the inner factor, creates the matter, the religious idea or content ; Nature, or the outer factor, creates the form, the religious terminology or organism. Thus the idea of the supersensuous or divine is common to mind, everywhere posited by it, everywhere articulated and developed by means of forms that struggle to become more adequate ; but those forms are given by Nature and history, wear the complexion or colour of the environment, and reflect the experience of the tribe or nation or race. And so peoples whose primitive home is the river valley or fertile plain, come to conceive deity under forms suggested by the phenomena of growth, the rain or moisture that refreshes, the soil that feeds, the sunshine that ripens the grain ; while peoples whose primitive home is the desert, as naturally conceive Him under forms given by what most speaks of life, man, and beast, and their familiar or common relations. In the former case Nature lives, the gods abide within it, are inseparable from it, and thought, as it seeks after unity, tends to Pantheism or some form of Monism ; but in the latter case life belongs to those who act upon Nature, the gods are above rather than within it, and thought, as it feels after unity, seeks it in a personal rather than an impersonal form, in a Monotheism which may be a Dualism, though not a monism. The theistic idea is in the one form immanent, but in the other it is transcendent ; and in the history of the ancient religions where immanence has been the regulative idea the unity reached has been abstract, impersonal, a *natura naturans*, but where the regulative idea has been transcendental, the unity reached has been concrete, personal, supernatural, a magnified and deified Man. And this explains the so-called "monotheistic instinct" of the Semites. The phrase has no more meaning and no less than would the "pantheistic instinct" of the Hindu or the Greek. Each denotes a tendency due to the form in which the theistic idea was expressed, and the form in each case depended on the Nature that, through speech, conditioned thought. And so we may say that Pantheism and Monotheism stand distinguished thus—the one is the abstract unity of a deified Nature, the other is the apotheosis of a supernaturalised man, and each was in its origin entirely independent of the other. And as regards their relation to Polytheism, it is enough to say, the one

may be described as its antithesis, the other as its synthesis. Monotheism is, but Pantheism is not, the negation of Polytheism. The most rigorous Pantheism is the basis and justification of the most extensive Polytheism known to the history of religions, but an absolute Monotheism can recognise no God but one. I cannot, therefore, regard these "phases of religious belief" as representing "different stages in the development of the idea of religion," but rather as distinct lines of development, whose differences are due to the different forms thought had to use because of differences in the medium in which it lived.

This point has been discussed in detail because it represents a fundamental defect in these lectures. The philosophy is not corrected and verified by a sufficient analysis of the historical religions, with all their conditions and factors of change. But it is necessary to proceed beyond this point. The scheme of the book, made up, as we have said, of three parts—a philosophy of religion, or an explication of the consciousness, which is the source and law of the religious development; a sketch of certain selected religions; and an exposition of Christian history and thought, as illustrative of the philosophy, is large and impressive. Man is viewed as a unity, and in his unity his religion participates; both are capable of continuous development, which proceeds according to a defined and definite law. In the very idea of his nature the religion is contained, and the progressive evolution of the one is represented by the progressing development of the other. The religious nature is so supernatural that the whole religious movement is miraculous, without any single part in it being a miracle. This review cannot concern itself with the whole book, but only with a few special points.

The very title of the book is significant of its underlying metaphysical idea—"the evolution of religion" is but a phase and consequent of the development of mind. The natural history of thought is the philosophy of religion. Hence the emphasis that is laid on the creative or developmental process; the determinative idea is to be sought, not in "something which is *common* to all religions," but rather in "that which *underlies* them all as their principle" (Vol. i. p. 51)—*i.e.*, the generative or "motive power working in the human mind, and essentially bound up with its structure, which manifests itself" in all religions, from the lowest up to the highest. Now, what is this "motive power" or "underlying principle"? "Our conscious life"—*i.e.*, "our life as rational beings" "is defined, and, so to speak, circumscribed by three ideas": "the idea of the object or not-self, the idea of the subject or self, and the idea of the unity which is presupposed in the difference of the self and the not-self, and within which they act and re-act on each other—in other words, the idea of God"

(Vol. i. p. 64). Of these three the last is the determinative, "the ultimate pre-supposition of our consciousness"; and the evolution of our intelligence is but, as it were, the complete explication of this ultimate element of consciousness. But before this element is embodied in a form suitable to its own nature, it has to be expressed in forms, first objective and sensuous, and then subjective and particular. The objective is primary, because our conscious life begins by a looking outward; the subjective is secondary, because we turn from without inward; and the final stage begins with the look upward; but in all the same principle is present and active. In the first rational act the end of the reason is given, and this end is God; but the form in which the end appears is first sensuous, then personal, and finally absolute—*i.e.*, completely and consciously articulated. The subjective process, or natural history of the religious consciousness, thus defines the objective course or historical stages of religion. When the consciousness is dominated by the idea of the object, religion is sensuous in form; when controlled by the idea of the subject, religion is personal, but rational; when determined by the idea of God, it is spiritual. The distinctions between the religions thus correspond to the several stages of the rational process, and, like it, these distinctions are formal rather than material. The realised religion is but the outward measure and mark of the inward development.

Now, this theory has the merit of remarkable simplicity and completeness. It enables us to see the unity in the mental life of man, and the continuity in his religious development. It helps us to deal with his religions as an ordered and orderly whole, all reasonable because all creations of reason. In its light we can construe their history as a dialectical movement whose changes succeed each other by logical necessity; and the intellect struggles through thesis and antithesis to the ultimate synthesis. It helps us, too, to see how, in the noble words of our author, "it is no mere pious metaphor, but a simple expression of the facts to say, that all our life is a journey from God to God, that in Him we live and move and have our being" (Vol. i. 166). And, we may add, this is as true of the race as of the individual. But the theory has one radical fault—it is too simple, tends too much to identify the evolution of religion with the evolution of the rational consciousness. The process is too purely intellectual and subjective, emphasises too much the independent activity of thought, constituting and controlling its environment, and too much forgets the action of the environment on thought. Into the religious process a dialectic, that is all the more complete that it is unconscious and undesigned, certainly enters; but it is a process in which conscience, heart, and imagination are all as active as the reason. And it is a process

in which the symbols are almost as important as the mind, for they define for the thought that uses them the idea of the divine which thought struggles towards. "Development" is here defined as "a process in which identity manifests itself *just in* change and returns upon itself *just by means of* change" (Vol. i. 172). But, so conceived, it is more a conditioning than a conditioned process. We ought to distinguish between "evolution" and "development." "Evolution" is creative, a process of organic change producing new species or new forms, with new functions and activities; but "development" is explicative, a process that perfects organisms, reducing latencies and evoking energies that enlarge the identity they preserve. Correspondent to this distinction is another: "Evolution" is the more objective, "development" the more subjective process; religions are evolved, but the religious consciousness is developed. And so, while in the former case change creates distinction, in the latter it maintains identity, and these processes are so related that the evolution of religion results from the development of consciousness; but the religions differ not simply because they represent different stages in the conscious development, but differently conditioned consciousnesses. For the dialectic that evolves religion is never a purely self-regulated process, working out its conclusions according to its own laws. All kinds of accidents or digressions interfere with its harmonious working. Sometimes, as with the thought of Greece, influences from older civilisations, Assyrian, Phœnician, Egyptian, disturb its action by the introduction of new gods, or still more by new ways of conceiving God; sometimes, as with the Hindus, contact with lower and conquered races causes qualitative changes in the idea of the divine, and produces a social order that may be said to turn back the development or divert it into entirely new channels, far more objective and sensuous than those in which it had been proceeding. It seems to me, then, that religion is much too complex, and that the outer factors of its development are too potent both as regards matter and form to allow us to represent it as a sort of spontaneous product or immanent dialectic, or self-regulated evolution of the rational consciousness. The realisation of self may be the discovery or at least the determination of God; but the form under which the Deity is discovered and determined, depends less on an absolute law of the consciousness than on the factors which condition its development.

In his discussion of early religions, as also of the Indian and the Greek, Professor Caird is at his happiest, always suggestive, and often profound. His sketch is rapid but careful, his lines broad but clear and firm. He helps us to see the secrets of the higher in the gross forms of the lower religions, and never allows us to forget

that what we study becomes intelligible only when viewed in relation to the creative intellect. But he is most instructive when he comes to Greece. Hegel here was also at his best : he made us see how much was done for the notion of Deity by the race who first made us feel the human form divine. And so, Professor Caird says Greek religion "not only personifies the natural powers which it lifts to heaven, but humanises them"; "whereas in most Asiatic religions, and particularly in the Vedic system, they are only personified, and their fictitious personality easily melts away into the natural power from which for a moment it has been detached by the poetic effort after realisation" (Vol i. pp. 264, 267). The Hindu drew man down to Nature, but the Greek lifted Nature up to man. The discussions on "Poetry and Truth," and on the "Logic of Subjective Religion," are full of acute and cogent criticism, as of Deism and Positivism, and also weighty exposition and argument. He pleads for what Carlyle called "a *natural supernaturalism*—i.e., the doctrine, not that there are single miracles, but that the *universe is miraculous*," and urges that "in order to conceive it truly, we must think of it, not as a mechanical system, occasionally broken in upon from above, but as an organism which implies a spiritual principle as its beginning and end" (Vol. i. 319, 320). And the subject which determines the form religion assumes at this stage has amplest justice done to him. "In the drama of our experience," he says, with one of the felicitous metaphors that light up his pages, "the Ego may be the Hamlet, or it may be only a walking gentleman : one thing is certain, it is always on the stage ; and if it were not, the play could not go on" (p. 325) ; and as he is indispensable to the play, it is through the fit performance of his part that its success is assured. The more the Ego realises itself, the more Nature, and with it objective or sensuous religion, is transcended, and the ethical and subjective attained.

In the lectures devoted to Hebraism and Christianity there are many excellent discussions and lucid statements. Israel is to Professor Caird the typical subjective religion, Christianity is the absolute or spiritual religion, which through its conception of God at once unifies the truth in the objective and the subjective, and transcends both. The defects and the excellences in his presentation proceed from the faithfulness with which he follows his philosophical principle ; where he has an antithesis to present, he is almost always at once clear and striking ; but where he has a positive idea he as often minimises its profounder meanings. He is much less successful in his interpretation of the religion of Israel than of the differences it presents to other religions, and even to Christianity. A good example at once of his excellences and defects is the passage in which he compares the action and influence of Jesus and

Paul, having specially in view certain modern attempts to place them in opposition :—

“It is easy to see that the clearness with which St Paul realised the central lesson of the cross, the force, and we might even say, the violence of abstraction with which he tore it away from its Jewish setting, and expressed it in its universal meaning, were necessary to prevent Christianity from sinking into a Jewish sect, such as it actually became for a time in the Church of Jerusalem. But, on the other hand, what would have become of the healing virtue of Christianity, what of its power upon the general heart of man, without the subtle personal charm of the forgiveness of Jesus, and His invasive charity for all the ills that afflict the flesh or the spirit of man; without the direct appeal of His words of comfort to the fallen, His denunciation of the oppressor, His proclamation of peace out of the depths of human sorrow, and His prophecy of good in the face of the most violent outburst of evil? . . . If we might venture to paraphrase the passage in the Gospel in which Jesus compares Himself to John the Baptist, we should express it thus: Jesus Christ came uttering the pregnant words of wisdom in the closest union of thought and life, and they say He is merely a pious Jew of more than usual purity and depth of character. Paul came idealising and generalising the facts of Christ's life and death, and they say he is only a philosopher who reduces life to a theory, if not a sophist who disguises it in high-sounding abstractions. But ‘wisdom is justified of her children.’ Action and thought, intuition and reflection, are not enemies, though they are often opposed. They are both the necessary stages in the development of one spiritual life; and that life needs them both for its advance to a fuller consciousness of itself and of the divine unity which is at once its source and its goal” (Vol. ii. pp. 134-7).

But what we have to say relative to his positive interpretation of Christianity, may be summed up in two remarks, which best apply our earlier principles to this subject. (1) He apprehends it so much as a series of stages or momenta in a subjective intellectual process, that he fails to relate it sufficiently to the object through which and for which it is—viz., God, and the action of God, in the universe. This is the developed form of the defect before criticised in connection with the notion of religion and its development. The environment works on the organism and through it, but behind the environment is the living mind and will, whose name is God. In the lower phases of religion He reaches man through Nature, in the later and higher He reaches man through men. But the development of man, with the correlated evolution of religion, represents the continuity of the creative action upon him, as well as the continued intellectual activity within him. (2)

The higher ideas of the religion are not so adequately handled as in the older philosophies of the same type. And the older seem to me here the higher and truer. The Christian doctrines of the God-head, Revelation, Incarnation, and the Holy Spirit, are capable of a philosophic construction higher and broader than they have here received; and without this even the historical behaviour and action of the religion cannot be understood. This means that God ought to be represented not simply as an ideal but as a real factor of the evolution, and the idea of Him which is not articulated into doctrines expressive of His manifold relations and activities is most certainly incomplete. And Hegel was right in emphasising this speculative side of Christianity, and in making its conception of God determinative of the aspects under which he viewed it. If Professor Caird has not done this in anything like the same degree, he has yet given us a reading of the religious process in the individual and in the race, and an interpretation of aspects and elements in Hebraism and Christianity, that must interest all students of philosophy and instruct all students of theology, especially where it least commands their assent.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

Books and their Use: An Address, to which is appended a List of Books for Students of the New Testament.

By J. H. Thayer, D.D., Litt.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard University. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1893. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 5 in. 75 cents.

A SMALL but very useful book by the learned and accomplished editor of the best Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, issued by the publishers in their usual tasteful style. The list of works appended betrays the hand of the master in his department. Besides being unusually full, it is well classified. The brief occasional condemnations and commendations are as discriminating as they are fair.

The remarks, whilst chiefly limited to the professional needs and dangers of those who are either preparing for or have entered the Christian ministry, occasionally take a wider range. They are characterised by critical candour, wisdom, and felicity. As an example of the author's severer tone, the following anent Professor J. Estlin Carpenter's little work on the "Origin and Relations of the first three Gospels," may be quoted. Though allowed to be a book of great attractiveness and some originality, so far as intended for Sunday school use, it is described as a blunder, seeing that it "gives out with assurance to youthful minds views which have yet

to run the guantlet of criticism." With regard to persons who thus early get dogmatically prepossessed—and Dr Thayer does not refer exclusively to one school—he adds : " Anybody who has had occasion to watch the changing fashions of criticism, can call to mind one person and another who, in the first jubilant exercise, perhaps, of his thinking faculties upon inherited opinions about the Bible, caught up with avidity the view that happened to be the vogue among the so-called 'advanced' critics, and still clings to it. You meet him years afterwards, and you find him still holding that the Tübingen 'motley's the only thing to wear.' He reminds you of one of those venerable survivals of a bygone style of dress sometimes seen in our streets. For in critical theories the rhymester's advice is as good as respecting fashions in clothes—

'Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.'"

D. W. SIMON.

Three Gates on a Side, and other Sermons.

By Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., Pastor of the Madison Square Church, New York. Author of "The Blind Man's Creed" &c. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1892. Pp. 271. Price 6s.

Dr Parkhurst deserves to be better known on this side of the Atlantic than as yet he appears to be. He holds a prominent position among the leaders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and he has made for himself a considerable reputation as a popular preacher. That this reputation rests on a solid foundation, is evident from this volume of sermons. One has only to read a few pages to understand how the thoughtful, the perplexed, the inquiring, find in the Madison Square Pulpit a centre of attraction. Dr Parkhurst's method is topical rather than textual. Even such a text as Eph. vi. 13, which describes the Christian's armour, is made to yield the topic "that patience rather than aggression is our prime business . . . that the power to endure is greater than the power to do." This method gives the preacher the greatest freedom in treating his subject, and lends itself in a peculiar way to oratorical effect. Dr Parkhurst, though sometimes fanciful in applying it, knows well how to use it; and in doing so, he draws liberally on the stores of a well-filled and well-trained mind. The topics selected have a living interest; each is treated with great freshness and vivacity; and the thought is usually characterised by great vigour. These sermons are at once very human and very manly. Exclusive devotion to the topical

method is apt to lead to the neglect of doctrinal preaching ; and in some respects, Dr Parkhurst sits loose to matters of doctrine. He says :—" We have been hearing in these days a deal about the 'New Theology' and about the 'readjustment' of our doctrinal symbols. I do not so much care whether it is new theology or old theology ; whether it is re-adjusted theology or unadjusted theology or no theology at all. Both as relates to myself, and to my congregation, I am a good deal less concerned about heresy in doctrinal opinions than I am about heresy in practical every-day aims and admirations." Personally, I should prefer more doctrine, and more definite statements of doctrine than I find in these sermons ; but the old doctrines are there and form the real basis and substance, of Dr Parkhurst's preaching. There is a great lack of finish about these discourses. The style is seriously marred by Americanisms ; and at times both in expression and in illustration, Dr Parkhurst verges on the vulgar. But when all has been said, these sermons must be recognised as a very fresh, vigorous, thoughtful, and effective presentation of the Gospel and its claims.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Four Men, and Other Chapters.

By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D., Author of "The Life of Jesus Christ," "The Life of St Paul," &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1892. Pp. x., 192. Price 2s. 6d.

THIS is a volume of sermons to young men. The main title is taken from a discourse on 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4, a passage which suggests to Dr Stalker four distinct judgments, and leads him to say that "in every man there are four men." The sermons are eight in number, and excellent sermons they are. If they are not very profound in either subject or treatment, they are eminently practical. Dr Stalker says his "sole endeavour has been to handle a few important themes of faith and conduct in a way that may be found instructive and readable by young men." The topics discussed have an interest of their own for young men. Dr Stalker's method is always simple and direct ; his thought, clear and vigorous ; his diction, smooth and flowing. He makes considerable and, for the most part, happy use of classical illustration. I should hesitate, however, to give Ulysses and the Sirens as an illustration of the method of resisting temptation. In saying that Christ "is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification, and redemption," Paul may have had in view the Greeks, the Romans, the Hebrews, and the slaves respectively ; but Dr Stalker's treat-

ment of sanctification runs some risk of confounding it with justification. And it is a somewhat odd combination of ideas to find "the wretched man who is more thought of in public than he is at home" afterwards spoken of as "a skeleton in the cupboard." Still these addresses are admirably suited for their purpose. There is in some of them a sense of strain and effort which makes one wish for more of the art that conceals art. But they are models of clearness and simplicity; they happily combine the old and the new, and show how the ethical and the doctrinal presentation of the Gospel should be correlated.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

The Servant of Christ, being Papers on some Points in the Character and Conduct of Christians of To-day.

By the Ven. William Macdonald Sinclair, D.D., Archdeacon of London, Canon of St Paul's, and Hon. Chaplain to H.M. the Queen. London: Elliott Stock, 1892. Pp. xiv, 124.

THESE papers have nothing elaborate about them. They are short and simple discussions of Christian duty. They appear to have originated in addresses to the people; and they still retain not a little of their original liveliness of character. The only approach to any display of learning in them is to be found in the large amount of quotation and illustration. But these are never carried to the extent of becoming wearisome; they really add to the interest of the discussion. As indicating the character of the book, I may refer to one or two of the topics discussed. "Decision" is enforced as against an unlimited flexibility, always ready to make compromises even in matters of principle. The "discipline of the imagination" brings under review the danger of naturalism, the need of retaining old-fashioned restraints, and the futility of mere culture as a moral check. The discussion of self-respect shows that Christianity alone provides the essential conditions of its cultivation, because in Christianity alone is there provision for true repentance. The Archdeacon is sometimes impetuous and one-sided, but he has a very warm heart for all good work and earnest workers. His book will be found helpful and suggestive in directing attention to some of the less frequently discussed aspects of Christian life and work.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Notices.

PROFESSOR MAYOR'S Commentary on the *Epistle of James*¹ is one of the most considerable contributions made in recent years by English scholars to this branch of theological study. It has been almost the work of a life, having occupied its author's thoughts more or less ever since he was an undergraduate. It is almost encyclopedic in its compass. The notes are very full, leaving little untouched that comes fairly within the compass of annotation. The Introduction is elaborate and exhaustive. The question of the Text is dealt with at length. A large critical apparatus is provided, and the Latin versions are compared throughout. In this part of his work Professor Mayor mainly follows Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort. The grammar of the Epistle is very carefully examined, every peculiarity in orthography or in syntax being noticed. The Style is investigated with no less care, and the result is reached that the "general impression produced by the Greek is much in favour of its being an original." The question of the possibility of such idiomatic Greek being written by the son of a Galilean carpenter is answered by showing the place held by Greek in Galilee. The author of the Epistle is identified with the president of the Church at Jerusalem. Evidence for the authenticity of the Epistle is collected from all accessible sources, and presented with much force. One of the most interesting chapters is devoted to the consideration of the date of the Epistle, and a strong argument is built up in favour of this being the earliest of the New Testament writings. It is referred to the fifth decade of the Christian era, and is understood to give us a picture of Pre-Pauline Christianity. There are longer notes, some of them of great value, on such topics as *Regeneration*, *Faith*, *Wisdom*, the *Divine Jealousy*. There are many points of interest in the interpretation of difficult passages. In iii. 6, for example, Professor Mayor prefers τροχόν, *wheel*, to πρόχον, *course*, and takes γενέσεως in the sense of the *whole life of man*—an idea partly Jewish and partly Platonic. Thus understood the phrase will refer to the incessant change of life; or, if the metaphor is taken from the wheel at rest rather than in movement, it will express all that is *contained in our life*, and point to the tongue as "the axle, the central fire from which the whole is kindled." The book is a mine of material, carefully collected and diligently used, which will

¹ The Epistle of James. The Greek Text, with Introduction and Comments. By Joseph B. Mayor, M.A. Camb., Litt.D.D. Dubl., Emeritus Professor of King's College, London. London: Macmillan. 8vo, pp. ccxx., 248. Price 14s.

demand the attention and repay the study of all who follow Professor Mayor in interpreting this Epistle.

Dr Alexander Whyte has done an important service in reviving the memory of one of the deepest and most devout of our older English divines, *William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*.¹ The introductory lecture gives an interesting sketch of the life of the author of the *Serious Call*, and a vivid portraiture of the man himself. The passages selected from his works, under the titles of *Characteristics* and *Characters*, bring under the notice of a generation that has almost forgotten him, the choice thoughts of a theologian whose mind dwelt with the secrets of the human heart and the Divine nature. This volume, so handsome in external form, so rich in profound reflections on the deep things of God, will be like great spoil to the mind that delights in high thinking on the spiritual verities and mysteries.

Mr Blake continues his popular *Studies of the Prophets*. With *Jeremiah*² he reaches the third section of his scheme, and he is no less successful in carrying out his excellent idea in this division than in the preceding. There are few books of the Old Testament that more require to have their words arranged in their proper historical setting and chronological order. Mr Blake brings to the discharge of his task not only sufficient knowledge of the facts, but also a just appreciation of the noble personality of Jeremiah, his great influence, and the lofty spirituality of his message. His book will give a new meaning to these prophecies to many a reader.

Professor Stokes, of Dublin, completes his survey and exposition of the Book of Acts.³ The second volume covers the entire narrative from ch. vii. 58 to the end. It goes into much less detail, therefore, than the former volume, but it follows the same plan. The theories of the critics on the origin and character of the book are left out of account, or disposed of by a simple reference to the refutations provided in Dr Salmon's well-known *Introduction*. Dr Stokes gives his strength to the historical matter. In illustration of this he makes large and most profit-

¹ *Characters and Characteristics of William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic*. Selected and arranged, with an Introduction, by Alexander Whyte, D.D., of St George's Free Church, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 8vo, pp. xlvii., 328. Price 9s.

² *How to Read the Prophets*. Being the Prophecies arranged chronologically in their historical setting, with Explanations, Map, and Glossary. By Rev. Buchanan Blake, B.D. Part III., *Jeremiah*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. 287. Price 4s.

³ *The Acts of the Apostles*. By the Rev. G. T. Stokes, D.D. (The Expositor's Bible). Vol. II. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 480. Price 7s. 6d.

able use both of the testimony of ancient documents, and of the information furnished by recent travellers like Professor Ramsay. He is also often very happy in his applications of the matter in the Book of Acts to the practical need and duty of the Church and the individual Christian of the present day. His patriotism and his churchism, however, tempt him sometimes to give a very peculiar turn to his interpretations. What he says, for example, on the sacrament of baptism in connection with the case of the Philippian jailor, will not be very convincing, save to a moderate Irish Episcopalian, and he contrives even to bring the political question of the hour and the position of the Irish police within the scope of his exposition. This, however, is by the way. The value of this volume, as of the former, is in the use which is made of inscriptions, coins, geographical and historical lore, and the researches of travellers and explorers. In this way it makes many things in the narrative clear, and contributes at the same time to the defence of the credibility of the book.

The new volume of the *Expositor*¹ is to hand. It is as rich as its predecessors in goodly matter, containing, as it does, the important series of papers by Professor W. M. Ramsay on *Saint Paul's First Journey in Asia Minor*, and those by Professor G. A. Smith on the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. Other interesting sets of papers are contributed by Professor Beet on the *Doctrine of the Atonement in the New Testament*, by Professor Milligan on two groups of Parables, and by Dean Chadwick on certain Miracles. There are sketches of *Newman*, *Köstlin*, and *Dora Greenwell*, by Dr Rainy, Dr Stalker, and Mrs Macdonell; articles on *Herod the Tetrarch* and *Jonah*, by Dr David Brown and the late Professor Elmslie; critical contributions by Professors A. B. Davidson and Sanday, Canons Cheyne and Driver, Professor Marshall, and the Rev. John Cross. In addition to all this there are occasional papers, each in its own way instructive, by Mr Bartlet, Dr Danson, Dr Dykes, and others.

The *Sermon Year Book and Selected Sermons for 1892*² contains some notable discourses by men of very different schools, together with the usual provision of Sermon Outlines, Anecdotes, and the like. The preachers include Canon Ainger, Stopford Brooke, Page Roberts, Joseph Parker, John Clifford, Alexander Maclaren, to mention only a few out of a brilliant list. Among the recent volumes of Sermons we have a collection of *University*

¹ The *Expositor*. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Fourth Series. Vol. VI. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 408. Price 6s.

and *Cathedral Sermons*, by J. R. Illingworth, M.A.,¹ which deal in a sober and judicious spirit with such subjects as Prayer and the Incarnation, and in a clear and instructive way with the practical questions of Christian service; and a similar collection of *Cathedral and University Sermons*, by Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D., Bishop of Meath,² which discuss the profound topics of the Fall, the Resurrection, the Limits of Christ's Knowledge, and others. Strength and reverence characterise Bishop Reichel's discourses. These qualities are especially conspicuous in his discussion of the last mentioned subject; in which he affirms the position that one part of Christ's humiliation consisted in His having emptied Himself of every divine prerogative inconsistent with the limitations, of mind as well as of body, which pertain to our present earthly state.

Among new editions we have pleasure in noticing Mr Taylor Innes' *Church and State*,³ the best book on the subject, written in a candid spirit, and invaluable for its historical information; Henry Rogers' useful and popular book on *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible*,⁴ now enriched by a Memoir from the pen of Dr Dale of Birmingham, from which we learn much that is of interest regarding the personality and the career of the author of the *Eclipse of Faith*; and Mr Brown's brief, but acute treatise on *Scripture Baptism*,⁵ in which objections to the common practice of the great churches are ably dealt with.

The volume on 2 *Timothy, Titus and Philemon*,⁶ is one of the best in the *Biblical Illustrator* series. The illustrative matter is abundant even to excess. But, so far as we can judge of it by testing it on some of the most important texts in these Epistles, we may say that it seems well chosen. Writings of all kinds, expository, sermonie, scientific, and popular, have been consulted and laid under contribution for the convenience of the preacher. If he knows how to make his selection out of the vast wealth and

¹ London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 223. Price 5s.

² London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 325. Price 6s.

³ *Church and State: A Historic Handbook.* By A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. Second edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 275. Price 3s.

⁴ *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from itself.* By Henry Rogers, with a Memoir by R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. Eighth edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. lxxii. 359. Price 5s.

⁵ *Scripture Baptism: Its Mode and Subjects.* By the Rev. Alexander Brown, Aberdeen. Second edition—Revised. London: Simpkin & Co. Small 8vo, pp. 64.

⁶ *The Biblical Illustrator, &c.* By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. 2 *Timothy*, etc. London: Nisbet & Co. 8vo, pp. 384, 219, and 90. Price 7s. 6d.

diversity of matter brought together in this volume, as in previous volumes of the series, and if he understands at the same time how to make a restrained use of it, he will find not a little to help him.

The latest addition to the *Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students* is Dr Candlish's clear, compact, and scholarly treatise on the *Biblical Doctrine of Sin*.¹ Dr Candlish begins by giving a broad statement of the conception of sin which is taught in Scripture, a comparison of this with the views of other religions, and a vindication of the truth of the Biblical idea. This being done he proceeds to examine the notion of *guilt*, the *punishment* of sin, the *universality* of sin and the different explanations offered of it, the Biblical doctrines of the *Fall*, the *depravity* of nature, the *inability* of man, the *inheritance* and *imputation* of sin. His closing chapter deals with the *elements of hope* in man's sinful state. The book, though of small compass, covers many questions, some of them among the most difficult in theology. It discusses them in a way that is possible only where fulness of knowledge is combined with sound judgment and sobriety of spirit. These qualities are seen all through the volume, and nowhere are they more to the purpose than in handling such subjects as *imputation*. Students will find Dr Candlish's volume of great use.

Dr Robson's *Hinduism*² was very favourably received when it was first published, now a good many years ago, and a second edition brought up to date will be welcome to many. A lengthened stay in India, combined with a wide and careful study of Indian literature, gives Dr Robson a good title to speak. He deals with his subject in four parts, discussing in the first the *Earlier Religions of India*; in the second, *Hinduism*, its philosophy, its customs, &c.; in the third, *Hinduism and Mohammedanism*; in the fourth, *Hinduism and Christianity*. He keeps in view the changes which have taken place during the last twenty years—the march of civilisation, the fortunes and effects of the Brahma Samaj; the rise of the Arya Samaj, the formation of the Theosophical Society. The accounts which Dr Robson gives of these recent movements, as well as his estimates of the original Hindu faith and philosophy, have the value of large information and sober reflection. The closing chapter on the *Position and Attitude of Christianity* says much that is wise and opportune on the results of previous mis-

¹ The Biblical Doctrine of Sin. By James S. Candlish, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

² Hinduism and its Relations to Christianity. By the Rev. John Robson, D.D. New Edition. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. Small 8vo, pp. xi. 269. Price 3s. 6d.

sionary effort, the encouragements to further effort, and the spirit in which it should be prosecuted.

Dr Matheson's object in his *Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*¹ is to "photograph the spirit" of the Ethnic faiths, and "fix the dividing lines which constitute the boundary between each religion and all besides." The systems which he examines with this purpose are those of China, India, Persia, Greece, Rome, the Teuton, Egypt, and Judea. He remembers the mixed character of the greater faiths, but endeavours nevertheless to show that each has its own distinctive note. He admits, for example, the wide differences between the three religions of China, but concludes that the three have still the same underlying characteristics—namely, the spirit of regression or reverence for the past. He admits that to speak of the *Message* of India looks like a contradiction, because India seems to "exhibit rather a clash of opposing voices striving for the mastery in the temple of truth." Yet he is of opinion that there is "one comprehensive idea which binds together her seeming elements of conflict," and that this idea is "human life—the proclamation of the pilgrim's progress."

Dr Matheson's book is a philosophy of these faiths rather than a historical study, and it is a very acute philosophy. But different minds catch different aspects of complicated phenomena, and in order to take Dr Matheson's view of the messages of the several religions, we should have Dr Matheson's eyes. The question also remains whether each of these religions, after all, had one great idea ruling it, or making so distinctly its peculiar burden. *Hopefulness* for example, may be held to have been the prevailing note of the earlier Indian faith. But may it not be said with equal or greater propriety that *hope* was the characteristic message of the Persian faith? Dr Matheson's opinions on some questions on which he has to touch in connection with his main subject are also open to criticism. This is the case with what he says of the *impossibility* of Polytheism, of the passage of Indian thought from optimism to despair, and, above all, of primitive man, to whom he ascribes a wonderful capacity for reasoning and reflection, if not for speculation. But, apart from these things, the book is a quickening one, full of life and interest, written in a most attractive style, and concentrating attention on aspects of these religions which are apt to be overlooked. It is most interesting and most convincing in the comparisons which it draws between these faiths and Christianity—comparisons which are altogether appreciative as regards the former, but just and instructive in exhibiting how they failed in

¹ The *Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions*. By the Rev. George Matheson, D.D. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Son. Pp. viii. 342. Price 5s.

the very things that made their messages, and how they pointed to something beyond themselves.

Our readers will be glad to know that *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, which is meant to form part of *The Cambridge Teachers' Bible*, is announced as ready for publication in April. In addition to Indexes, Glossary, Concordance, and a new series of maps, it is to contain papers, prepared by a large staff of eminent scholars, on the books of the Bible, the Apocrypha, the external history, the relations of the Gospels, Chronology, Antiquities, and other subjects—all under the general editorship of Professor Lumby.

Record of Select Literature.

I.—OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BADHAM'S THE FORMATION OF THE GOSPELS	
JOLLEY'S THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM FOR ENGLISH READERS	By Rev. ARTHUR WRIGHT, M.A., Queen's College, Cambridge, . . . 231
BONAR'S PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN SOME OF THEIR HISTORICAL RELATIONS	By THOMAS RALEIGH, M.A., All Soul's College, Oxford, . . . 238
MONTEFIORE'S LECTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS	By Rev. Professor HERBERT E. RYLE, M.A., Cambridge, . . . 240
HERTLING'S LOCKE UND DIE SCHULE VON CAMBRIDGE	By WILLIAM MITCHELL, D.Sc., University College, London, . . . 245
KOEHLER'S VON DER WELT ZUM HIMMELREICH	By ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D., University College, Durham, . . . 248
MAX MÜLLER'S THEOSOPHY OR PSYCHOLOGICAL RELIGION	By Professor ALEX. MACALISTER, M.D., Cambridge, . . . 255
KARL MUELLER'S KIRCHENGESCHICHTE	By Professor HENRY COWAN, D.D., University of Aberdeen, . . . 262
RAINY'S THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS	By Professor JOHN GIBB, D.D., London, . . . 266
KRAZ' DAS WELTPROBLEM UND SEINE LOESUNG IN DER CHRISTLICHEN WELTANSCHAUUNG	By Professor JAMES IVERACH, D.D., Aberdeen, . . . 269
LOTZ' GESCHICHTE UND OFFENBARUNG IM ALTEN TESTAMENT	By Rev. Professor W. F. ADENEY, M.A., New College, London, . . . 272
BLOMFIELD'S THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE NEW CRITICISM	By Professor ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., University of Aberdeen, . . . 276
KAUTZSCH'S DIE HEILIGE SCHRIFT DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS UEBERSETZT	By Professor ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D., University of Aberdeen, . . . 278
WYCLIF LITERATURE: COMMUNICATION ON THE HISTORY AND WORK OF THE WYCLIF SOCIETY	By Dr RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG, Dresden, . . . 280
ADDIS' THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH, TRANSLATED AND ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER	By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., Glasgow, . . . 295
ORR'S THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF GOD AND THE WORLD AS CENTERING IN THE INCARNATION	By Professor JOHN LAIDLAW, D.D., Edinburgh, . . . 297

Contents.

	PAGE
GILBERT'S NATURE, THE SUPERNATURAL AND THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL	By Rev. Professor JOHN SKINNER, M.A., London, 300
HALLIER'S DIE EDESSENISCHE CHRONIK RAABE'S DIE APOLOGIE DES ARISTIDES	By VERNON BARTLET, M.A., Mansfield College, Oxford, 301
OWEN'S SOME AUSTRALIAN SERMONS COGGIN'S MAN'S GREAT CHARTER	By Professor JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Aberdeen, 307
SCOTT'S A CYCLOPÆDIC DICTIONARY OF THE MANG'ANGA LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA	By Rev. GEORGE MACKENZIE, B.D., Edinburgh, 308
LOESCHE'S ANALECTA LUTHERANA ET MELANTHONIANA	By Principal D. W. SIMON, D.D., The United College, Bradford, 309
OTTO RITSCHL'S ALBRECHT RITSCHL'S LEBEN	By Rev. H. A. A. KENNEDY, D.Sc., Callander, 312
SCHOPENHAUER'S ESSAYS	By Principal D. W. SIMON, D.D., The United College, Bradford, 316
NOTICES	By the EDITOR, 317
<p>CHEYNE'S FOUNDERS OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM; BRIGGS' THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE HEXATEUCH; HEARD'S ALEXANDRIAN AND CARTHAGINIAN THEOLOGY CONTRASTED; FARRAR'S FIRST KINGS; ADENEY'S EZRA, NEHEMIAH, AND ESTHER; OXFORD HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE; THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE BIBLE; WHYTE'S BUNYAN CHARACTERS; HOWIE'S THE CHURCHES AND THE CHURCHLESS; PREUSCH'S HATCH'S GRIECHENTHUM UND CHRISTENTHUM; SIEGFRIED'S THE BOOK OF JOB; BRIGHT'S ANGLO-SAXON READER; CARNEGIE'S THROUGH CONVERSION TO CREED; SCOTT'S FOREGLEAMS OF CHRISTIANITY; BRUCE'S APOLOGETICS; HENDERSON'S PALESTINE; HOLTZ-MANN'S EVANGELIUM, BRIEFE UND OFFENBARUNG DES JOHANNES; DILLMANN'S GENESIS; WEISS'S MEYER'S DIE EVANGELIEN DES MARKUS UND LUKAS; WEISS'S MEYER'S DAS JOHANNES-EVANGELIUM; HIRSCH'S THOMAE KEMPENSIS DE IMITATIONE; KÖSTER'S CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS' QUIS DIVES SALVETUR; LIPSII'S THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT; GASQUET'S EDWARD VI. AND THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER; G. A. SMITH'S THE PREACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; DOUMERGUE'S L'AUTORITÉ EN MATIÈRE DE FOI; NESTLE'S DE SANCTA CRUCE; DRUMMOND'S EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS; ADDIS' CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE; MACMILLAN'S THE MYSTERY OF GRACE; MORRIS JOSEPH'S THE IDEAL IN JUDAISM; TROUP'S WORDS TO YOUNG CHRISTIANS; WILLINK'S THE WORLD OF THE UNSEEN; CHURCH'S CATHEDRAL AND UNIVERSITY SERMONS; RAMSAY'S THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE; FAIRBAIRN'S CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY; BAYNE'S THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND; OLIPHANT'S THOMAS CHALMERS; MOMERIE'S THE RELIGION OF THE FUTURE; WENDT'S DIE NORM DES ECHTEN CHRISTENTHUMS.</p>	
RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE	329

The Formation of the Gospels.

By F. P. Badham, M.A. 2nd Edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 196. Price 5s.

The Synoptic Problem for English Readers.

By Alfred J. Jolley. London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. 124. Price 3s. net.

THESE books have little in common, except a belief that the oral hypothesis does not account for the origin of the synoptic gospels. Mr Badham does not concern himself about the oral hypothesis. He is satisfied with documents and redactors. Mr Jolley is more reasonable. He admits that for forty years (oral) tradition, together with personal reminiscences, supplied the wants of the Churches. He admits that the (oral) tradition grew larger as the personal reminiscences grew less, until, on the death of the last eye-witness, our written gospels superseded both. But Mr Badham does not take account of those forty years. Until the first document appeared—close upon 70 A.D.—he leaves the whole question to silence.

Yet surely forty years, in which the number of Christians amounted to myriads, and Churches, each with its cycle of oral teaching, were established in most parts of the inhabited world, would exercise a preponderating influence upon the formation of the gospels. Tradition, I believe, was neither so vague nor so fluctuating as some persons have imagined. It had a distinct source in St Peter's teaching—not his "preaching," as Mr Badham says. On that point turns the whole controversy. Preaching varies. New subjects drive out the old, or if sometimes the same story is told, it is told in different words. Our gospels could not have been formed in that way. The very existence of the catechists proves that a compact body of lessons was drawn up, which they taught to the catechumens. Those who had mastered these lessons became catechists themselves, and carried the same teaching into every corner of the Roman world.

Thus St Peter's memoirs formed a framework into which, from time to time, the personal reminiscences of other witnesses were worked. In every Church the oral gospel must have had peculiarities of its own, but at the end of forty years a broad distinction lay between the tradition of the East and that of the West.

Our three gospels are the final result. St Mark's is neutral, giving little besides St Peter's teaching. St Matthew's gives the same teaching, enriched by the accumulations of the East. St Luke

has gathered materials from every available source. Having no knowledge of his own, he has been a diligent collector. Aramaic documents, fragments of the *Logia*, and new contributions are worked up into one remarkable whole.

The oral hypothesis has the supreme advantage of making each evangelist give us all that he knew. He did not pick and choose from an enormous mass of floating amorphous matter; nor did he, by a free use of scissors and paste, patch together cuttings from a number of lengthy documents; but as a faithful historian, he recorded all that he could collect. And his work was not originally intended for the use of the Church Catholic, but (as St Luke plainly says in his preface) for the local congregation, whose oral gospel he had committed to writing.

After these preliminary remarks, let us proceed to our task. Professor Stanton wrote for the *Expositor* of last March, respecting Dr B. Weiss's theory of the gospels, "Weiss does not appear to have made any converts. There is an arbitrariness about the explanations offered by this theory which renders it very unattractive." Before the number was published, a convert was forthcoming. Mr Jolley has accepted Dr Weiss's views, and made them the basis of this book.

According to his theory (1) St Mark's Gospel was used by the other two evangelists. Mr Badham denies this. So of course do those who hold the oral hypothesis. I think that it is refuted by an examination of the proper names in St Mark. Under oral teaching I should expect a large proportion of those proper names to be gradually riddled out and lost, especially in the Gentile Churches; for what wise teacher would burden the memory of his pupils with foreign names, in which they could take no interest? But if an historian, like St Luke, had St Mark's written Gospel before him, I should expect that, whatever else he neglected, he would preserve the whole of the proper names, for names and dates are the backbone of history. Well, how does the matter stand? I find that out of eighty-six proper names in St Mark, twenty-four, and these the rarest and most interesting to an historian, have disappeared from St Luke's parallel passages.

(2) St Matthew and St Luke wrote independently, and were not acquainted with each other's gospels. Mr Jolley has no difficulty in showing this by comparing Matt. i.-ii. with Luke i.-ii.; but Mr Badham is forced by his theory to hold that St Luke had Matt. i.-ii. (or rather the source from which it was taken) before him when he wrote. In proof of this he submits, amongst other considerations, that "the star in the east" (ὁ ἀστήρ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ) "is surely alluded to in the Day-spring" (ἀνατολή) "from on high . . . to guide our feet into the way of peace."

(3) All three evangelists drew largely upon an earlier document which has perished. This document, commonly called the *Logia*, is styled by Mr Jolley the Primitive Gospel, or for brevity P. G. He restores it on the lines of Dr Weiss, and prints an English version of it at full length. It constitutes the main feature of his book, and he demands for it the patient examination which it is sure to get at the hand of scholars.

I reserve my remarks on P. G. for the present, and pass on to describe how Mr Jolley holds our three gospels to have originated. (1) St Mark wrote down what he recollected of St Peter's teachings, combining with it certain portions of P. G. Out of his 666 verses, I reckon that, according to Mr Jolley, 427 are Petrine, and 239 come from P. G. (2) St Matthew's Gospel—I call it so for convenience: it is really a composite work, as Messrs Badham and Jolley agree in thinking—is built, Mr Jolley holds, upon St Mark, with much more copious extracts from P. G., some personal reminiscences and traditions, "the latter of which are not always trustworthy." (3) St Luke not only used St Mark and P. G., but also a document unknown to the other evangelists, and of Ebionite tendency. The idea of this Ebionite document, which praises poverty and denounces the rich, is not taken from Dr Weiss, but from Dr Colin Campbell's "Critical Studies in St Luke's Gospel." Out of St Luke's 1151 verses it certainly supplies 212, probably 218, possibly 313. But this is not all; in the history of the Passion and Resurrection it is largely used in combination with St Mark. It may give some idea of this document to state that, according to Mr Jolley, St Luke's two introductory chapters come from it; so do the stories of the rich man and Lazarus, the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Widow's Son of Nain, and some other, but by no means all, nor even the most striking, of the narratives which deal with poverty and wealth.

Mr Badham's account of the origin of the gospels is altogether different. Whereas Mr Jolley writes, "the Petrine character of the second gospel is universally admitted," Mr Badham denies it. Papias, he says, has been misunderstood from the first. St Mark, so far from being the author of the second gospel, is the author of all that is peculiar in St Luke's Gospel, of much that is common to St Matthew and St Luke, of more than half of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Of the second gospel he only wrote the last twelve verses, which textual critics declare to be not genuine.

Historical criticism has done much to restore honour to St Mark, but Mr Badham in this respect surpasses every one. Those portions of St Luke which we call Pauline are really Petrine; it is St Mark's Gospel that was written by an unknown Pauline Christian. These

views Mr Badham published as a Bachelor of Arts in 1891 in a pamphlet of ninety-nine pages. As a Master of Arts he published in 1892 a volume at least six times as large, greatly improved in tone, with new and various pleadings, concluding with the three gospels in English, according to the authorised version, printed in red type, black type or italics, to indicate the sources in detail. Earnest work like this demands attention. We cannot afford to treat it as Mr Jolley does.

Mr Badham holds (1) that the earliest document (A) was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, the next (B) after the flight to Pella. A and B were speedily combined into AB. (2) Somewhat later a Pauline Christian, with A, B, and AB in his hands, but with little original knowledge, produced our second gospel. This was "an improved harmony," intended to supersede AB, but not A and B. The writer omits very large portions, especially of B. (3) St Mark in Rome (*circ.* A.D. 72) writes down what he remembers of "the Preaching of St Peter." His work soon perished, but not before the greatest part of it—in fact, all but forty verses—had been incorporated into other writings. (4) St Luke composed our third gospel by combining "the Preaching of St Peter" with St Mark's Gospel. He omits some passages, especially of the latter work. He had A, B, and AB before him, but seldom used them. (5) Our first gospel was made up of AB and a few sections from "the Preaching of St Peter." Contrary to most critics, Mr Badham makes this the last of the synoptic gospels.

It is not surprising that increased examination has caused Mr Badham to somewhat shift his ground. In his second edition he includes in "the Preaching of St Peter" Luke i. 5-iii. 3; iii. 7-14, 18-20; iv. 5-8, and many other sections, verses or even half verses, which he treated differently in his first edition. I think he has rather weakened his case by these changes. Strange to say, in both editions he includes in the "Preaching" St Luke's genealogy, which would form a curious sermon. Mr Badham's theories are based upon doublets and inconsistencies. Let us look at the doublets in St Matthew. Mr Badham denies that the same document could have held the following doublets. (1) "This is Elijah which is to come," "Elijah is come already." (2) "The sign of Jonah" (twice). (3) "More tolerable for Sodom" (twice). (4) "Trees known by their fruit" (twice). (5) "Unfruitful trees hewn down and burnt" (twice). (6) "Greatest be your servant" (twice). (7) "Every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment," "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the judgment." It is unnecessary to continue the list. St Matthew uses the phrase, "There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth," six times; "The end of the world," five

times; "Eternal life," seven times. The conclusion which Mr Badham, it seems, would have us draw is, that when a phrase occurs twice, diversity of documents is proved; when it occurs more than twice, identity. But will any one admit that? That there is one doublet in St Matthew (ix. 27-34=xii. 22-24) is made probable by St Luke's parallel. That there is another (xii. 41=xvi. 4), and several in St Luke, will scarcely be denied by those who have studied the question, but Mr Badham's four lists, with an aggregate of one hundred doublets, can only excite our amazement.

Mr Badham, however, rightly follows Dr Weiss and others in maintaining that the central third of St Luke (ix. 51-xviii. 14) is not, as it appears to claim to be, an account of events which happened during the last journey to Jerusalem, but "the main-stock of a record, covering," not "the whole period of our Lord's life," but a considerable part of His ministry. His arguments on this point are mostly convincing. Chapter viii., also, is interesting in its suggestion that "St Peter's Preaching" is arranged according to subject matter. In many cases there is good reason to think so. In chapter x. a less successful attempt is made to show that Tatian used "the Preaching of St Peter," as well as our four gospels, in drawing up his *Dia tessarôn*. Chapter xi. maintains that certain sections of the Acts of the Apostles are a continuation of the "Preaching of St Peter." He goes further than I should go in extending these sections over the whole book. Chapter xii. deals with the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Those who think the epistle to have been written by St Luke will, if they accept Mr Badham's views, have no objection to transfer the authorship to St Mark. To others Mr Badham's reasons are not likely to be convincing. Chapter xv. deals with the inconsistencies. They are weaker than the doublets. The first I consider the only good one. "How strange it is to hear Christ enjoining secrecy on the leper when great multitudes are present" (Matt. viii. 1, 4). True, but Matt. viii. 1, I maintain, is an "editorial note." It is absent from St Mark and St Luke. It is only one of those connecting links which bind narratives together, but are not based on the original authority, and are sometimes demonstrably wrong.

Mr Badham assumes that Matt. xvii. 21 is genuine. A critic should take care to use a good text. How strange it is, he continues, "to hear Christ bidding certain women, *All hail*, when the context (Matt. xxviii. 1) only assures us of the presence of two." When Shakespeare wrote, "Cæsar, all hail," he did not imply that several persons were present. The Greek is simply *Χαίρετε*. A critic should work upon the Greek text and not upon the "authorised" English version. In pages 77 and 78 Mr Badham gives lists

of words peculiar to A and B. He derives the imperative ἐξετάσατε from ἐκτάζειν. When a writer, who is capable of such errors, speaks about Greek style, the reader will learn to discount his confident assertions.

The list on page 77 contains twenty-one words peculiar to A, and the list on page 78 nineteen words peculiar to B. What reason can be given why we should not add the lists together and say that they give us forty words peculiar to St Matthew? They are mostly such. κατ' ὄναρ occurs five times in Matt. i.-ii., once in Matt. xxvii. 19, and nowhere else. Would it not be fair to argue, on Mr Badham's principles, that the author, who has shown such a predilection for the phrase in chapters i.-ii., cannot have written the next twenty-four chapters? In this case the argument, I believe, would be in accordance with the facts, but it would wreck Mr Badham's theory. But there are further inaccuracies to be noticed. ἀθῶος occurs in Matt. xxvii. 24 only, for it is a false reading in Matt. xxvii. 4. The same may be said of ἀπέναντι, which is a true reading once, but false twice. The accents οἰκίακος, ἡλῖός, ἀλαλός, στείρα, εἰός, ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν are wrong. πυρετω, ὥρα (dative), and ἀθῶος require ι subscript. Many of these "peculiar words" are found in St John, St Paul, St James, and other writers; several occur in the Acts of the Apostles, which was not written by the author of A or B.

Mr Badham has a greater show of reason when he argues, from the discrepancies in the order of narration between St Matthew and St Mark, that two documents, A and B, were used and pieced together differently. But even so, he cannot account for St Matthew's order; he only reduces the number of variations. The explanation that the Eastern catechists omitted numerous sections of St Peter's memoirs in order to put the Sermon on the Mount near the beginning of the ministry, and then turned back and gathered up the fragments that remained, preserving in both cases the relative order, seems to me to be far more probable.

The strange difficulty which those critics who support the documentary hypothesis feel about the preservation of the same order of narration in oral tradition, extending, as it does, even to minute particulars, is surely unwarranted. Systems of mnemonics were largely used by the ancients, and they were necessarily based on order and association. There are clergy now, who can repeat the litany from beginning to end without book: if they changed the order of a single petition, their memory would break down.

It will be seen that both these authors deny the unity of St Mark, or of the "Triple Tradition," and expand the volume of the *Logia*. Mr Badham's B corresponds in the main to the *Logia*. Mr Jolley's P. G. professes to restore it. They both hold that the second gospel

(St Mark) made free use of the *Logia*. Herein I cannot agree with them. If St Mark had the *Logia*, why did not he make more use of it? An evangelist who deliberately omitted the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, the longer parables and discourses, when he had them before him in writing, is an incomprehensible enigma. But the other evangelists are hardly better. What should have induced St Matthew to omit the parables of the Prodigal Son, the Rich Fool, the Rich Man and Lazarus, or the journey to Emmaus? Why should St Luke have omitted the healing of the Syrophenician woman's daughter? The critic who accepts the oral hypothesis has an intelligible answer. They omitted what they had never heard.

No critic who works on the documentary hypothesis has ever accounted for the multitudinous diversities in the identical sections of the triple or double tradition. Those who attempt the task say that the evangelists, although they had documents, and used them as guides to the order, and in a few other respects, trusted rather for their language to local oral tradition, because the congregation for which they wrote would tolerate nothing else. If that is the state of the case, Apostolic authority had sunk rather low. Cannot we dispense with these imaginary documents if they were of so little use?

But when once you leave the triple tradition, the question of order appears to be fatal to the documentary hypothesis. Look at Mr Jolley's order. He divides P. G. into seventeen chapters of about twenty-two verses each. St Matthew copies them in the following order (to save space the first verse only is given): i. 1, 3, 6, 8, 9; ii. 1, 5; xv. 18; v. 14; ii. 7; xiii. 6; ii. 11; v. 19; ii. 12, 15; ix. 5; xii. 18; v. 15; viii. 25; xii. 11; ii. 18; ix. 10; v. 17; xiv. 9; ii. 21, 23; xiv. ii; ii. 24. I need not continue the catalogue, though I have only come to the end of Matt. vii. St Mark's order is no better; St Luke's is even worse. Did three men, working independently on the same document, ever copy it so erratically? Does any one believe after this that Mr Jolley's "hypothesis explains all the facts?"

Mr Badham's chief argument for identifying St Luke's original matter with "the Preaching of St Peter" is the statement of Papias, that St Mark wrote, "but not in order." Our second gospel, Mr Badham insists, is a conspicuously orderly document, because nearly every event follows "immediately" after the preceding; but the central third of St Luke's is as famous for disorder. Without denying the latter assertion, I protest against the former. St Mark's Gospel is not orderly. Papias explains why it is not so in the next sentence. It consists of lessons loosely strung together, because St Peter did not assay to write a continuous history, but adapted his teaching to the needs of his pupils at the moment. A better descrip-

tion of St Mark's Gospel could not be given. His fifty-six "immediately's" are merely "editorial" connecting links, and cannot be pressed.

We are asked to believe that all the supposed documents, and combinations of documents, came into existence by a mushroom growth at Jerusalem, Pella, Rome, or other places between the years 68-72 A.D., and perished, as a rule, before 80. Yet they were so widely circulated that three evangelists, living at widely severed places, had a copy of all of them, except the heretical Ebionite work.

We cannot suppose that the evangelists got copies sooner or more surely than other men. Therefore, at least, a hundred copies must have been made and circulated with extraordinary rapidity. Yet they all perished. Not even at Ephesus, at Alexandria, or at Rome did a copy remain. Nay, such was the ignorance of the earliest fathers of the Church that they confused St Mark's work with St Luke's, and the mistake has been continued till Mr Badham has at last exposed it.

I think it is time that men began to consider once more the claims of the oral hypothesis.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

Philosophy and Political Economy in some of their Historical Relations.

By James Bonar, LL.D. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893. Large 8vo, pp. xvi. 410. Price 10s. 6d.

WE are accustomed to expect good work from Mr Bonar, and this book will add to his reputation. It is, he says, "the first attempt to present a view of the relations of philosophy and economics through the whole of their history," and there are few writers who could handle this large subject with fuller knowledge or in a more judicial spirit. Beginning with Plato, he shows us how the economic science of each succeeding generation has been moulded by prevailing philosophical, ethical, and political ideas. In the social scheme of the Greek philosophers, wealth has an important but a subordinate place. It is, in itself, neither good nor evil, but necessary; it is good as a means to an end, the satisfaction of human wants, and this end is subordinate to a higher end, the realisation of the best possible human life. So far, the teaching of Plato and Aristotle is sound, but in applying it to practice they were hampered, and to some extent perverted, by the Greek prejudice against trade and manual labour, and by the tendency, natural enough in men who regarded the State as a small homogeneous com-

munity, to lose sight of the boundary between legislation and moral education. The manifest want of connection between the ideal and the actual state leads the later Greek schools to turn away from the state altogether, and to work out the problem of ethics on individualist lines. "Live according to nature," the one commandment of the Stoics, is addressed to the individual; the Roman was satisfied with this gospel; by temperament and habit he was disposed to keep his moral ideals for private use; he never applied them directly to the business of government; he knew instinctively that what the statesman aims at is not the best, but only the best practicable. From Greek philosophy Mr Bonar passes at once to Christianity and Canon Law. We could wish that the interval had been filled up with a chapter on the Roman law of property and contract; the subject is within the scope of Mr Bonar's design, for law, in one aspect of it, is a kind of philosophy; "*Jurisprudentia est divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, justi atque injusti scientia.*" It is to the Romans that we are indebted for the precise notions of legal right which moralists and economists often seem to take for granted; the prejudice against the civilians which pervades the socialist literature of Germany is exactly what we might expect to find in writers of that school. Progress is the resultant of two forces—the desire for a just and business-like administration of existing law (this we take from the Romans), and the belief that existing law is hopelessly incompatible with our moral ideal (this, if we confine our attention to the modern world, we may describe as the Christian socialist element in civilisation).

According to Mr Bonar's reckoning, the modern world begins with the fall of feudalism, the rise of great monarchies, and the consequent increase in the burden of general taxation. Machiavelli shows the Prince how he may strengthen himself by promoting the industry of his subjects; Grotius attempts the higher task of bringing economic policy within the limits of moral law. His range is wider than that of the ancient philosophers; they were disposed to say, Set up the true State, and it will make good men for us; Grotius says rather, Make men what they ought to be, and they will guide the State in the path of virtue. This is modern individualism of the good kind; Hobbes carries the theory to a vicious extreme. Man, he holds, is not social by nature, or at least he is imperfectly social; he has sense enough to see that the law of nature (the law of *self*-preservation) requires him to live at peace with his neighbours; this is the origin of Leviathan, the State, which, with all its unlimited powers, is only an aggregate of individuals after all. To the individualism of the Protestant seventeenth century the eighteenth adds humanitarianism (belief in the perfectibility of man) and utilitarianism (belief in virtue as a means

to happiness), and so at last in the fulness of time Bentham and Ricardo become possible. Of Bentham Mr Bonar gives us a full account; of Ricardo he says comparatively little, regarding him perhaps as an economist out of relation to philosophy.

Kant, though his absolute ethic would be dismissed by the utilitarian as unpractical, comes nearer even to economic truth than the Benthamite school. Property, he says, is not derived from labour; appropriation of land precedes cultivation. Civil society exists to secure freedom, not happiness, the negative, not the positive, conditions of a moral and happy life. He corrects individualist politics by showing that the State has *made* men (civilised men), and therefore has a right to their service and obedience. The most valuable chapters of Mr Bonar's book are those in which he expounds the doctrines of Kant and Hegel, and estimates their influence on Karl Marx and others. In reading these chapters, we feel that our author has not merely read philosophy and political economy and "combined his information." He understands, and makes his reader understand, the vital connection between the great subjects of which he writes. As a book for students, his work is much to be commended; it is full of instructive detail; the style is sober and careful; and the index is all that an index should be.

T. RALEIGH.

Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews.

By C. G. Montefiore. (Hibbert Lectures, 1892.) London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 8vo, pp. 598. Price 10s. 6d.

THE task undertaken by the Hibbert Lecturer of 1892 was in every respect a formidable one. The prominent and honoured position which Mr Claude Montefiore holds in the Jewish community doubtless added peculiar anxieties to the discharge of his duties as a lecturer. Those who are at all acquainted with the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly* will indeed experience no surprise at the line which is followed in the present work. But that useful and interesting journal is unfortunately not very widely known, and to many a reader it will come as a new and strange thing that an orthodox Jew should accept the conclusions of modern criticism upon the Old Testament. When, however, this fact is realised, it will be understood with what interest we turn to a work from the pen of a Jewish scholar who is true to his religion, and has been no less receptive of the best teaching of his time.

It was obviously impossible for him to evade, even if he had wished to do so, the chief subjects of controversy in modern criticism. "The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews" can only be understood in the light of the history of the people; and the history of the people is presented to us in very different aspects, according as the ancient literature preserved in the Old Testament receives the interpretation of the simple traditionalism of the Jewish Synagogue and the Mediæval Church, or that of the unsparing analysis of modern scientific studies. Those of us who are acquainted with Mr Montefiore's previous contributions to Old Testament study will find here all that we might expect from so ardent a disciple of the New Learning. He states the new positions with great clearness, and with uncompromising courage; and few could rival him in the fulness of his acquaintance with the literature of his subject.

His treatment of the Hebrew Religion is strictly historical. The reader is led on from the first obscure beginnings of Israelite religion down to the age of the Maccabean Revolt. The first six lectures are occupied with the six obvious stages in the growth of the Hebrew religion, the first the Mosaic, the second the pre-prophetic, the third that of the prophets of the eighth century B.C., the fourth that of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, the fifth that of the Exile, the sixth that of the Restoration and of Ezra. The three last lectures are occupied with different aspects of the Judaism "from Nehemiah to the Maccabees," with occasional excursions into the region of Rabbinic Judaism.

Into the vast range of details which so comprehensive a scheme necessarily deals with, I have no desire to enter. The lecturer in every lecture traverses country which has been the battle ground of many controversies. He, himself, would be the last to expect that those who agree with him in his general literary position should not differ from him frequently in important details. Perhaps the most interesting, and in some respects the ablest lecture, in the volume is the very first. It is almost a relief to find nowadays the Mosaic stage of Hebrew religion so strongly maintained. Its sources, indeed, are left undecided. Our author, uncertain whether the vital nucleus of Hebrew religion took its rise in the teaching of Moses or in the still ruder age of pre-Mosaic Hebrew ancestors, is content to leave the matter in suspense. The whole subject of Divine Revelation he leaves severely alone. In protesting against Renan's famous dictum that the Semite was naturally a Monotheist, Mr Montefiore brings out the resemblance of the early Hebrew worship to that of neighbouring tribes, and emphasises the distinction which is too often ignored between the "Monolatry" of the primitive Hebrew and the "Monotheism" of the devout Jew. The patriarchal narratives are dismissed from consideration as un-

historical, but the period between Moses and Amos receives full attention. It is satisfactory to observe that the antecedents of the eighth century prophets can no longer be neglected in a scientific investigation of Israelite religion. Lectures iv., v., vi., although not contributing any new light, contain much that is useful and suggestive for the understanding of the three phases of religious thought associated with the names of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Ezra.

The last three lectures (vii., viii., ix.) are in some respects the least successful portion of the work.

The obvious want of firmness in these concluding lectures is due partly to the fact that the writer fails to restrict himself, as he proposed, to the limits of the Maccabean period, but chiefly to his reluctance to adhere to any decided opinion upon the Rabbinism of the two centuries that followed the Maccabean Revolt. He is almost nervously afraid of going too far in blame or praise. Thus, in one passage (p. 475), he says that "the Scribes took up and worked out the laws of clean and unclean with the greatest zeal and zest. They developed them with extraordinary subtlety, and spent upon them the full force of their hair-splitting and casuistical dialectic. It would seem as if the ideal of the rigorists among them in the age of Christ was, as it were, to transform the layman into a priest, or even to transform him, for his whole life, into the condition of a priest when performing the functions of his sacred office." Fearful, apparently, that he has here spoken too strongly, Mr Montefiore in another page takes Schürer to task for making merry over the distinction of "clean and unclean," and asserts that "these distinctions and rules did not concern the layman, and are themselves merely the precipitate of the discussion of the schools, and were probably unknown to nine-tenths of the pious and observant Israelites in the age of Christ" (p. 477). This is indeed a startling assertion. It would imply that the Scribes very generally failed in their attempts to leaven their countrymen with their own scrupulous reverence for the details of ceremonialism, and that the heathen and Jewish writers who impute this attitude of scrupulosity to the pious Jews, whether priests or laymen, were labouring under a misapprehension. And yet in another passage the lecturer freely admits (p. 478) that "the existence of a large priesthood, who were bound to follow out the rules of clean and unclean to the utmost of their knowledge and capacity, and the existence of an extreme section of Rabbis, who even sought to outdo these professional observers, were grave evils. These puerile prescriptions not only interfered with social intercourse, but tended to set up a false ideal of external sanctity." Now it was precisely this "extreme section of Rabbis," *i.e.*, the Pharisee Scribes, who

were absolute masters over the religious life of the people in the time of our Lord.

The practical question then is, whether this development of legalism conduced to healthy spiritual life. "The two voices" to which the lecturer is listening are nowhere more distinctly heard than in the peroration with which he concludes the seventh lecture. "The Maccabean revolt drove out Hellenism, and prepared the way for the full development of Rabbinism. It left the law triumphant and supreme. . . . Nationalism, particularism, legalism are now all-powerful, and their influence is all-pervading. All this would seem to indicate retrogression, and in one direction it actually does so. Let no one, however, suppose that it actually indicates stagnation, sterility or decay. Above all, let no one suppose that it indicates a lower level of personal religion in the heart of each individual believer. For the religious fervour which marks much of the literature of the pre-Maccabean period was no less, but even more, a characteristic of the Judaism which preceded it. Religion has never been a purer joy and a deeper satisfaction" (p. 413). This somewhat plaintive appeal against the "*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*" argument rather loses its force when we remember that the responsible religious teachers were "the extreme section of Rabbis." It may be perfectly true that "the characteristic hair-splitting which characterised the legal disputations on the ceremonial law, the penal code, or the agrarian injunctions does not seem to have entered to any appreciable extent into the field of morality proper" (p. 484). But anyone who chooses to judge for himself what the religious influence of the Scribes probably amounted to has only to study the Mishnah. There is no need to impute any odious charge against the moral sincerity of the Scribes. Theirs may indeed have been "a pure joy and a deep satisfaction." Many of them were truly religious, most of them intensely zealous. And yet it was not the moral or the spiritual lessons which engrossed their attention, it was "the characteristic hair-splitting" about ceremonial trifles. This characterised their disputations, this was their satisfaction, this the subject of their fervour.

No one, of course, need necessarily suppose "that it actually indicates stagnation, sterility or decay"; and yet no one could deny that St Paul had good reason for refusing to impose upon the Gentile converts that network of prohibitions which entangled on every side the strict observance of Judaism. It is difficult to believe that such "obscurantism," as it would perhaps now be termed, did not indicate a wholly inadequate conception of personal religion.

The tone of reverence and regard which Mr Montefiore adopts towards Christianity is so uniformly and so generously expressed

that one would be glad to pass over in silence the strangely unworthy piece of declamation about the Apostle St Paul. But the argument is evidently regarded as a crucial one, and cannot be neglected. "An habitual lack of impartiality upon the Christian side seems mainly due to the influence of St Paul. The Rabbinic religion is doomed because Paul abjured it. . . . If you estimate the Judaism of the first century according to Paul's judgment, you estimate at the same value the Judaism of eighteen hundred years. But to accept Paul as a correct critic of Judaism is a fallacy. Do you consider that a convert from Liberalism to Toryism is the most adequate and impartial judge of the political system which he has abandoned? is a convert from evangelical Protestantism to Roman Catholicism the best judge and critic of evangelical theology? Would you accept his evidence without cavil, and say that just because he abandoned the religion of his fathers for possibly a greater and fuller faith, he was the best possible critic and pathologist of the religion he has forsaken?" (p. 542).

Such a piece of rhetoric is really unworthy of the writer and of his book. No one, as indeed the writer well knows, would think of relying on St Paul's statements *because* he was a pervert. It is because his allusions to Rabbinism correspond so exactly to all that is known of its characteristics from other sources that we cannot call in question their general accuracy. It is forgotten that the writings of St Paul are animated by a stronger feeling against Judaisers than against Jews; and his fairness as a critic of Rabbinism is not to be summarily dismissed on the assertion that he was hostile to the Jewish religion. St Paul never "abandoned the religion of his fathers," he continued to attend the Synagogue worship and the Temple Feasts. He denounced, indeed, the idea that the ritual and ceremonial restrictions of Judaism should be forcibly extended to all Christians. While he recognised and boasted of the privileges and the responsibility of the Jews, he protested against subjecting foreigners to the burden which that responsibility entailed.

Whether or not the legalism of the Rabbis was a burden and had become a yoke on the neck of the Jewish nation is in this book disputed. But it will not be disputed that, as practised and taught by the Rabbis, Rabbinism could become all the slavery which St Paul imputes to it. It is no argument against the yoke of the law being a heavy one to say that the Jewish Rabbis rejoiced in it. They, indeed, were willing to bear it; and it nowhere appears that St Paul ever denied the duty of a Jew, whether willing or not, to bear it. He only objected to its being laid upon those who had not inherited its responsibility. The teaching of St Paul did not differ from that of his Master: the law was made of none effect by the tyranny of

the tradition. "As touching the law," St Paul continued to be "a Pharisee" (Phil. iii. 5): but to him "the end of the law" was not Rabbinism but Christ (Rom. x. 4).

In conclusion, it must be confessed that while these lectures are characterised by a refreshing enthusiasm, it is probable that they were easier to listen to than they are to read. The style is apt to be cumbrous, and often dull. Sometimes we come across sentences which it requires a real effort to construe, *e.g.*, "From that day and forward Israel and the nations will both know Jahveh as in his relations to either he respectively is, the one as omnipotent and compassionate, the other as omnipotent and malign" (p. 249). "Deutero-Isaiah would have hailed in closer relations with the remnant of Judah and Israel, and with the half-pagan, half-converted foreigners, a first practical realisation of his universalistic dreams" (p. 291). "The third was the discovery, as an end in itself, parallel with and superior to material prosperity, of spiritual satisfaction in communion with God and in the fulfilment of the Law" (p. 445). Such sentences are doubtless translatable, but they are too laborious to be good English.

We may be pardoned, perhaps, for inquiring whether the necessities of modern studies really compel us to have recourse to such uncouth expressions as "the *moralization* of Jahveh's character" (p. 101), "the pitiful hypothesis that the anger of Jahveh was occasionally *unmotivated*" (p. 198), "a rapid *integration* of the exiles into the body of the Babylonian Empire" (p. 223), "the exercise of *ablutory* purifications" (p. 411). Such phrases have possibly been drawn from the technical terms that abound in the writings of the great German authorities. But our language is so rich and facile that there can be no justification for the adoption of monstrous forms from the artificial diction of foreign literature. The multiplication of such technical terms is a common snare to a growing science. They do not make the meaning of scientific language any clearer; and they do erect the barrier of a horrid jargon between the student and the public.

HERBERT E. RYLE.

John Locke und die Schule von Cambridge.

Von Dr Georg Freiherrn v. Hertling. Freiburg in Breisgau.
London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. xi. 319.
Price, M. 5.

THE main object of this book is to discover what previous writers Locke had in mind when writing his *Essay*. That is no small undertaking, for Locke himself gives almost no assistance, and, if he had foreseen this book, would probably have given less; he

expressly avoids giving the names of almost any authors with whom he either agreed or conflicted. Dr v. Hertling has gone into the matter with great thoroughness. He is specially concerned to show the influence of the Cambridge Platonists upon him, and for this he does not confine himself to matters of importance. Turns of expression like "light of nature," "candle of the Lord," serve the purpose. A very casual remark in the chapter on Space, in the second book of the *Essay*, gives occasion for ten pages to show that Locke had Henry More in view when he made it. Near the end of the first book we read, "What censure doubting thus of innate principles may deserve from men, who will be apt to call it pulling up the old foundations of knowledge and certainty, I cannot tell; I persuade myself at least that the way I have pursued, being conformable to truth, lays these foundations surer." This does not deter v. Hertling. He thinks it is probably a kind of apology to the Cambridge Platonists.

The chief value of the book consists in bringing together what lies scattered in several English books. But it must be confessed that the interest is more biographical than philosophical. Indeed, the philosophical interest will mostly appeal to the historians of philosophy who feel it to be necessary to classify Locke, and deduce him from his predecessors. Dr v. Hertling begins by objecting to the usual classification of Locke as "sensualist," and "empiricist"; but neither will he call him an "intellectualist." After an examination of the *Essay*, he concludes that the empirical and rational tendencies are equally matched; the second chapter gives an account of the Cambridge Platonists, and the third endeavours to find traces of their influence in the *Essay*. This is a very rational position to take up, and it is justified by the facts of Locke's life, and by his pronounced sympathy with the religious and ecclesiastical views of the school, though some account might have been taken of a letter in which Lady Masham (Cudworth's daughter) shows that his acquaintance with its work was not so early, at least, as might have been expected. The fact seems to be, that Locke was much more a conversing than a reading philosopher. It is impossible, for example, to find any author upon whom the first book of the *Essay* could be anything like a direct attack. Dr v. Hertling says that he was astonished at the result of his investigations. English readers will hardly confess to the feeling. He is, of course, able to make out Locke's acquaintance with the Platonistic doctrines; if he had failed, a suspicious man might have been tempted to infer Locke's acquaintance with them all the more. But it certainly did not require Cudworth and More to bring Locke to any of the conclusions which they have in common. It is quite probable, too, that he had read Glanvil on the limits of

human knowledge, and Samuel Parker against Descartes, but we should hesitate to draw a conclusion. As for the results of Dr v. Hertling's very minute inquiry, it cannot be said that there is one of any importance with which English authors have not made us familiar. In short, this detective method of treating the *Essay* throws almost no light on it that is not better afforded by a study confined to the *Essay* itself. Professor Fraser's exposition, for example, is in every way more conclusive. It was Locke's own wish to be treated as an independent thinker. "This, I am certain," he says (i. 4, § 23), "I have not made it my business either to quit or to follow any authority in the ensuing discourse," and again in *Thoughts Concerning Education*, "It is an idle and useless thing to study what have been other men's sentiments, where reason only is the judge."

It is true that there are many unassimilated elements in Locke, but for that very reason there is little but a biographical interest in tracing them to others. And it is a hazardous employment at best; there are so many channels through which one may come by inconsistency. The historical importance of Locke is not to be found in his relation to his predecessors, but in his influence on the future course of philosophy. And that importance lies, not in his views upon this or that, but in his method. If it is necessary for the classifying historians to believe that it was brought to him from somewhere else than out of the problem he set himself, they will find no source more likely than the scientific activity of the time. The "plain historical method" was the method of natural science, and remains the method of psychology. With Locke, in the fourth book, it serves to discover the criterion of truth as well, revealing the judgments that carry complete or partial conviction with them when clearly appreciated. The degree of conviction respecting clear judgments thus became the measure of their truth, but when a history was assigned to conviction itself, the criterion had to be placed somewhere else. It is idle to speculate whether he would have placed it with Hume in impressions, or with Kant in the necessary implicates of experience; their question was not before him. If he thought of the "chemistry of ideas," it was only as a source of error. He did not doubt that we can "perceive" truth and falsehood quite as the eye sees light, but how?—that did not trouble him. Perhaps his influence has been all the greater that more has been read into him than he says, or would have said. The attempt to find in him something of the Cambridge Platonist could not altogether fail. But Locke would have been pleased to learn that he has defeated so well the prying eyes of Dr v. Hertling.

W. MITCHELL

Von der Welt zum Himmelreich oder die johanneische Darstellung des Werkes Jesu Christi synoptisch geprüft und ergänzt.

Kritisch-theologische Studie, von H. Köhler. Halle : Max Niemeyer. London and Edinburgh : Williams & Norgate. Pp. xxviii 335. Price, M. 5.

THE somewhat lengthy title sufficiently explains the scope of the volume. It is an attempt to show that a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels with the Fourth Gospel leads, on critical principles, to a confirmation of the latter. St John's representation of the life and work of Jesus Christ is corroborated and completed by the narratives of the other three, rather than weakened and contradicted by them.

The writer starts from the principle that the religious value of the Gospel is inseparably bound up with its historical truth, and that each of these gives support to the other. Its spiritual effects produce the conviction that the narrative cannot be fictitious, for such intense reality could not be the result of empty unreality ; and the recognition of its historical character greatly enhances its spiritual effects. It is quite true that in the documents which stand in the very first rank as evidence respecting the life of Jesus, viz., those Pauline Epistles which are of admitted genuineness,¹ there is very little appeal to the details of that life. St Paul rarely quotes our Lord's words, and never appeals to a miracle or a parable. But that was because, when St Paul wrote, there were abundance of people who could still remember the look of Christ's form and the sound of His voice. To have attempted in a later generation to preach Christianity without any details respecting the historical Christ would have been futile. If we want to see the way in which Christianity was preached to the heathen world, who knew nothing of Jesus, we must study the account of Him given in the Gospels : for they contain the written record of what that preaching was. Just those portions of the life of Christ, which experience proved to be of most value for propagating and strengthening the faith, were those which were most fully stored up in the memory of preachers and their audiences, and thence passed into written documents. A missionary who refused to know anything about the doings of Christ upon earth, and yet strove to win the world over to Christ, would have been an impossibility.

But who at that time had any idea of the importance of the step

¹ Köhler accepts, besides the four great Epistles, I. Thessalonians, Philip-
pians, Philemon, and (with some hesitation) II. Thessalonians.

which those were taking, who first caused narratives, which had hitherto been stereotyped in the memory, to be stereotyped also in writing? The want of written information respecting the words and works of Jesus Christ would be felt in many Christian communities simultaneously, and would become more and more pressing as the number of those who had seen and heard Him during His life on earth contracted, and as the time during which He delayed His coming was prolonged. It is quite possible that in some matters of detail the traditions respecting His life became blurred and confused before they were written down, and that here and there the documents reflect the times in which they were written rather than the time in which Jesus ministered to His people; but, nevertheless, when allowance has been made for all such probabilities and possibilities, our four Gospels remain as trustworthy witnesses of the past: and it is quite evident from their contents that they were intended by their writers to be such. This position respecting their character, natural and manifest though it is, need not and ought not to be assumed; for it is sometimes disputed, and it admits of verification.

One of the most ready and satisfactory tests is to compare the four accounts with one another; and here Köhler gives his adhesion to the "two-document theory" respecting the genesis of the Synoptic Gospels, which he regards as "one of the most certain results of the New Testament criticism" (p. vii). One of these two documents was mainly a narrative of facts, and is preserved almost unaltered in our Second Gospel. The other was mainly a record of discourses, and is largely made use of, together with the narrative of facts and other material, in our First and Third Gospels. It is a matter of comparative unimportance whether Mark, under the guidance of Peter, was the original writer of the narrative of facts, and Matthew the original writer of the record of discourses. But it is manifest that the position of Peter, as chief of the Apostles and one of the chosen three, would cause his narrative of the things which he witnessed to be regarded with special interest and trust; which would lead to its being at an early date secured and preserved in writing. This cannot be said in anything like the same degree respecting the relation of Matthew to the discourses. But with regard to them no such special authority was needed. "It is less easy to invent words of Jesus than it is to invent acts of Jesus." As Matthew Arnold said long ago, respecting the authenticity of the discourses recorded in the Fourth Gospel: "The doctrine and discourses of Jesus cannot in the main be the writer's, because in the main they are clearly out of his reach" (*Literature and Dogma*, p. 170). Not even St John could invent such words, for "never man thus

spake" (John vii. 46). When, therefore, an attempt is made, as in this volume, to test the trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel by comparing it with our other sources, it is mainly these two documents—the narrative of facts as preserved almost intact in Mark, and the record of discourses as preserved in unequal proportions in Matthew and Luke—which come specially into consideration.

In the present condition of opinion among Biblical critics, it requires, Herr Köhler confesses, a certain amount of courage to profess one's belief in the old-fashioned view, that the primary intention of the author of the Fourth Gospel was to write actual history, and that, as an intimate disciple of the Lord, he was in a position to carry out that intention. But he has the courage to make this profession: moral considerations compel him to do so. He finds no alternative between regarding the Fourth Gospel as either in its fundamental elements actual history, or as a fiction *which professes to be history*. If his narrative is in the main unhistorical, then it is impossible to defend him from the charge of *deliberate deception*. Had he intended that the whole should be understood, not as history with a symbolical meaning, but as pure symbolism without historical basis, then, as an honest man, he ought to have told us so plainly: passages such as ix. 3, 39 and xi. 4, 25 are altogether inadequate for any such purpose. But the whole internal evidence of the Fourth Gospel is against this alternative. The spirit of truth, which seems to breathe from every one of its glorious pages, forbids the critic from adopting the hypothesis that he is here dealing with a gigantic deception. H. Holtzmann is no doubt right when he contends that in that age the practice of writing under a false name, or at least of concealing one's true name, amounted to a literary passion. But if the Fourth Gospel is a case in point, then we are confronted by no ordinary case of concealment or misappropriation of name. The writer does not persistently hide his own personality: nor does he persistently assume the personality of another. The former of these two courses is consistent with absolute honesty; and the latter, if judged by the literary customs of the time, is not deserving of severe censure. But the Fourth Evangelist does neither of these. He wears a veil, which here and there is for a moment slightly raised, in a manner which, *if* he is a writer of the second century, can only be explained as a most subtle and artful contrivance for deceiving the reader. He suggests, without asserting it, that he is an intimate disciple of Jesus Christ; and it is perhaps not too much to say that he wishes to be taken for the Apostle St John. It is difficult to excuse such a proceeding as that; and it is impossible for an earnest Christian to regard the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel as a matter of purely literary interest. There

are some who adopt the heroic position of thanking Providence for the fact that, by the development of Biblical criticism, all worthless crutches have been taken away from us; and they include among such crutches our trust in the historical character of the Gospel narratives. E. Haupt¹ says, with special reference to the Johannean question, "If I am told that the Gospel of John is not historical, I can still look at the narrative of the raising Lazarus with the conviction that in it my God is speaking to me, and that every word in it is eternal truth": by which he does not at all mean that, in spite of all objections, he holds fast to the narrative as historically true; but that for him the spiritual value of the book is quite independent of its historical truth. No one has the right to dispute such a statement. But an internal experience of that kind is no sure guide to any one but the person who has it,—even if it be a sure guide to him; it is a purely subjective test. What ordinary believer can look calmly at the portrait which is sketched for him in the Gospel and say, "It makes no difference to me whether it is fiction or fact?" Even to the critic it is a matter of some moment whether the portrait which looks out upon him from the evangelistic frame is that of a real or an imaginary Christ.

And the loss would still be considerable if we were confined to the Synoptic narrative. It may contain everything that is essential. It may be an adequate protection against mere subjectivity and evaporation. But it is incomparably richer and more effective when combined with the Johannean narrative, and therefore nothing short of absolute necessity excuses us for dispensing with the Fourth Gospel. Modern criticism contends that a rational combination of the two narratives is impossible; and it is to combat this view that *Von der Welt zum Himmelreich* has been written. The author has had no scruple in making use of the First Epistle of St John to complete the material supplied by the Fourth Gospel. On the other hand he makes no use of the Apocalypse, which in his opinion *mit dem Apostel Johannes nichts zu schaffen hat* (p. xxi.).

In executing his purpose, Herr Köhler begins by discussing the import of the coming of Jesus from heaven into the world, meaning by the world men alienated from God. He then passes on to consider the ideas of Light and Truth as set forth in the Synoptists and in St John, and endeavours to show that there is harmony between the two representations (pp. 21-43). Next the Johannean idea of Jesus as the Life is compared with the Synoptic idea of Jesus as the Originator of the Kingdom of Heaven (pp. 44-78). From the ideal side we now pass to the practical; and in chap. v. Light and Truth in activity are discussed both from the Synoptic

¹ *Die Bedeutung der heiligen Schrift für den evangelischen Christen*, 1891, pp. 46, 48 (*Christliche Welt*, 1890, Nr. 29).

and from the Johannean point of view (pp. 79-144). After which we have two long parallel chapters on the Communication of the Life of Jesus to others, as represented by St John (pp. 145-241), and on His admitting others to Membership in the Kingdom, as represented by the Synoptists (pp. 242-326).

The most original part of the book seems to be its arrangement, as just sketched; and there are numerous, but not too numerous, subdivisions. The whole volume amounts to one hundred and twelve sections, each of which has a separate title, both in the table of contents and also in the margin of the page: all of which conduces very much to clearness. Whether anything very substantial has been added to what has already been done by previous writers in exhibiting the substantial harmony between the first three Evangelists and the fourth may be doubted. But, from his own point of view, the author has made some rather damaging concessions to those who maintain that the Fourth Gospel is idealized history, or even ideal fiction, without any historical basis at all. In discussing the sixth chapter of St John he says that nothing is further from the Evangelist's intention than to garble or falsify the historical contents; but nevertheless Christ's discourse is reproduced in the freest manner, and "shows itself to be more than usually interwoven with materials which belong exclusively to the Johannean, and not to the historical, Christ," and "an elimination of these materials is not practicable" (p. 150). And a little further on he speaks of the tendency which the "Spiritual Gospel" exhibits, viz., to select incidents in the life of Jesus and turn them to account as mere illustrations of the ideas in the freely imagined discourses (p. 151). But even the incidents mentioned in the sixth chapter are not to be taken as strictly historical in their details. "Rather the section bears quite unmistakably the impression of an artistic composition freely sketched from historical data; and its main purpose is a didactic one" (p. 157). And then Herr Köhler describes the way in which the memory and the imagination of the Evangelist combined to produce this "artistic composition," aided by a power of reflection, "which alters much and adds much, yet without marring the unity and unique character of the mental picture." After which he adds the legitimate remark that "what is produced in this manner can of course make no claim to historical value in the strict sense." His attempt to evade the effect of such an admission is perhaps not so legitimate. He urges that, "inasmuch as the manner of production lies quite open before us, we are from the outset precluded from supposing that the Evangelist intends to make any such claim. He lets his own additions be recognized as such plainly enough" (p. 158). If this were the case (one may remark in passing), what an easy problem the Fourth Gospel would

be! As to the concluding part of the discourse, in which Jesus speaks of His pre-existence with the Father, and of His having come down from heaven as food for the life of the world (vv. 44-58), our author says that to attribute all this to Jesus is to place "an absolute bar to bringing the Synoptic representation into harmony with the Johannean" (p. 161). Of the part which the Jews are stated to have taken in the scene, we are told that "the more violent their tone becomes, the further it is removed from the given historical basis." That the discourse refers to the Eucharist is regarded as so clear that even those who are interested in denying the reference are commonly obliged to admit it: but then the reference is created, or at any rate made clear, by the fact that the Evangelist has embellished Christ's words about the Bread of Life with the Eucharistic phraseology prevalent in his own time (pp. 162, 218). As to the concluding words, "For this cause have I said unto you, that no man can come unto Me, except it be given unto him of the Father" (v. 65), criticism allows us to conclude that Jesus never uttered them at all (p. 238).

After this, one is quite prepared to find that the farewell discourses (xiv. 31-xviii. 1) are treated in a similar manner. The conversations with Thomas, Philip, and Jude are admitted to be in the main historical, but after that all runs away into indefiniteness. The Evangelist's own reflexions come more and more to the surface and dominate his recollections (p. 183). The allegory of the Good Shepherd and the promise of the Spirit are allowed to be historical, but about most of the remainder, and about the form in which the promise of the Spirit is made, there is utter uncertainty. "The section is a striking example of the sovereign freedom with which the Evangelist moulds his material, and interweaves it with elements of doctrine which were developed later, and with his own inner experiences."

These, and similar concessions to those who impugn the historical character of the Fourth Gospel, seem to leave sadly little that can be successfully defended. Herr Köhler may be able to decide to his own satisfaction what is a genuine saying of Jesus Christ, what is a compound between His teaching and that of the Evangelist, and what (although put into Christ's mouth) is really wholly Johannean. But other persons will doubt the security of his processes, and will conclude that the position which he endeavours to defend is, upon his own showing, indefensible, and that nothing which rests upon the unsupported testimony of the Fourth Gospel can be safely maintained. They will remind him of his own dilemma. He told us at the outset that "this Gospel is either in its fundamental basis actual history, or fiction which professes to be history." There is "no other alternative" (p. viii.). In the course of his investiga-

tions, he has assured his readers from time to time that the fundamental basis is actual history, however much it may be mixed up with elements which are the creations of the Evangelist's own mind. He assures them also that he can tell when the Evangelist is simply remembering and narrating, and when he is imagining and inventing ; and that these imaginary elements are added with such frankness and openness that the author ought not to be accused of any attempt to deceive. But there are many persons who will say that they cannot detect any such frankness on the part of the author. St Paul sometimes says that the direction which he gives is his own personal advice, and not a Divine command (1 Cor. vii. 12). But where does St John even so much as hint at any distinction between what was actually said and done, and what he imagines might have been said and done, or between historical scenes which have been selected on account of their instructiveness, and fictitious scenes which have been invented in order to convey instruction ? That "sovereign freedom with which the Evangelist moulds his material, and interweaves it with elements of doctrine which were developed later, and with his own inner experiences," leads to the result that Christ's acts and words are dramatized almost beyond recognition. Herr Köhler seems to know that John v. 26, vi. 15 and 56, are genuine sayings of Jesus ; but how can we be sure of that if the passages in which they are imbedded are in the main, or in their entirety, unhistorical ? We are reduced to the position which Grote taught us to adopt with regard to the old Greek myths. There is a great deal in them which *cannot* be true,—all the supernatural portions, for instance. With regard to the remainder, there are probably some elements of truth mixed up with the fictitious elements ; but we have now no means of separating what is historical from what is not. We must take the myths as they stand, neither accepting them as history until they are confirmed by other evidence, nor rejecting them as pure and unadulterated fiction.

But there are plenty of students of the Fourth Gospel who will decline to accept this position. The principle laid down by Herr Köhler is a sound one,—that this Gospel is too manifestly full of the Spirit of Truth to be accepted as a gigantic deception : and such it must be if it is a historical romance or drama, like the "Harold" of Bulwer Lytton or of Tennyson. That St John translates Aramaic into a language which he has not entirely mastered ; that he sometimes condenses a conversation of one or two hours into a few verses ; that in his chronology and other matters of unimportant detail his memory is not always exact ; that he selects his incidents, and narrates them concisely or fully, with a view to didactic effect (that we cannot always determine when the sub-

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stance is Christ's while the wording is John's, and when the Evangelist is simply reproducing or accurately translating the Master's very words,—all this may be conceded. But to go the lengths which are recommended in this volume, and recommended as a defence of the truthful character of the Fourth Gospel, seems to require us logically to go on to the position from which the author would call us back, that in fact and in intention this Gospel is a fiction that imitates history. A far more sure way of avoiding this position is to remember that the Fourth Gospel has been for eighteen hundred years a *transcendent success*; and that in the case of the Gospel history a *successful imitation is impossible*. The apocryphal gospels which remain and which have perished are conclusive proof of that. Those which are still extant show us the best that pious Christians could produce, even with the canonical Gospels to copy from, when they fell back upon their own imagination as to what Jesus might have done or said: and with these specimens of fiction at work upon the life of Christ we need no further explanation of the fact that many which were once extant have perished. A Gospel which from the outset has satisfied the spiritual instincts of Christendom cannot be other than true.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

**Theosophy or Psychological Religion : The Gifford Lectures
delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1892.**

*By F. Max Müller, K.M. London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1893.
Pp. xxiii and 585. Price 10s. 6d.*

IN this course of lectures Professor Max Müller completes his survey of the philosophy of religion, and gives us the latest results of his "life-long studies in the religions and the philosophies of the world."

The two fundamental postulates of the system expounded in these volumes are, that thought is inseparable from language; and that the makers of language could only form the names of objects by means of roots expressive of actions. In this last volume, the author has, however, modified the first of these by defining thought, not as a mere percept, but as what that intellectual act means as soon as it is expressed in a word. In this sense, certainly, thought and language are self-evidently inseparable. Professor Max Müller's philosophy may, in brief, be expressed in the words of the Aitareya Aranyaka (II. 1, 6, 1) "Speech is his rope; the names are the knots, so by speech as by a rope and by names as by knots all these are bound together; for these truly are names alone, and by speech he arranges everything."

In the progress of the development of religion among men three

stages may be recognised. In the initial condition of primitive culture, by reflection upon the names given to the phenomena of nature, man was led to infer the existence of causal actors behind and independent of the phenomena. The growth of this conception, unaided by special revelation, culminated in the recognition of these actors as gods, and ultimately as different manifestations of one God. To this discovery of the Infinite in nature Professor Max Müller has given the name Physical Religion.

The second stage is that in which man, meditating on the manifestations of his own mind, discovers that behind the mere phenomena there must be something akin to that Infinite; some faculty which feels after God; and to this he gives the name *Soul*. This is the stage of Anthropological Religion, and, as the soul in man longs for a closer knowledge of God, this naturally leads to the third stage, or that of Psychological Religion, in which man makes the discovery of the relationships existing between his soul and God, between the Infinite in man and the Infinite in nature. This third stage, with the consideration of which the volume now before us is occupied, is, in effect, the search for a bridge whereby the soul can pass from earth to the eternal abode with the Infinite in nature. The ethical and ritual consequences which flow from this discovery of the soul, and from the search for its divine connections, vary among different nations only so far as they are modified by the diversity of national and individual environments, and according to the degree of perfection with which the primary idea of God has been developed. In these respects Christianity is but one of the many forms of the world-religions; and its characters differ from those of the others only in degree. Whatever superiority it may possess, it owes to its synthetic nature, being built up by a combination of the philosophic and religious thoughts of the Aryan and Shemitic peoples. The example of prayer as a ritual observance is taken, and specimen prayers from non-Christian systems are given by the author at considerable length.

The written records of man's progress in groping after these eternal relations constitute the sacred books of the world. To their study we must look for our knowledge of the growth of human religious ideas. There is a certain fitness in the prominence given in these lectures to the sacred writings of the East, for Professor Max Müller has himself been instrumental in bringing this extensive and polyglot literature within the reach of Western students by means of the series of forty-two volumes which he has edited for the Oxford Press.

The perusal of these books cannot fail to impress us with a sense of their fundamental unity of thought, feeling, and aspiration, arising from their common human substratum. Professor Müller

believes that the Christian religion, which he regards as the highest of these products of the human religious faculty, is fitted in special measure to make the world comprehend the oneness of the objective Deity with the subjective Deity or Logos. The human soul, identical in essence with the Divinity, is separated from God chiefly by ignorance; and when that dividing cloud is removed it becomes reunited to Him. Christ, the most perfect human soul by virtue of His clearer view of the godhood of humanity, was thus a divine man in the fullest sense. This constitutes His claim to the title of Son of God, and is the true historical solution of the Incarnation, according to Professor Müller. Psychological Religion is represented in these lectures by the simile of a bridge between the finite and the infinite, spanning the gulf of ignorance which separates man from God. In the philosophy of religion, as expounded by the author, this bridge is built entirely from the human side. The religious man is the bridge builder; and his structure unites man by "arches of hope and fear, or by the iron chains of logical syllogism" to a Godhead which is of his own fashioning; and the farther end of the bridge is consequently, like that in the Vision of Mirza, enveloped in cloud. Such a bridge differs essentially from that of which we are taught by St Paul or St John, whose doctrine concerning union with God is that of a bridge stretching down from God to man, of which God is the builder, and across which there is a way of reconciliation through the Incarnation, Life, and Death of Christ, in whose personality the Christian can hope, on whom he can depend by faith, and whom he can approach in prayer. The stability of this bridge rests on the belief in the direct revelation of God in Christ.

The merit which Professor Max Müller claims for his system in preference to the Pauline is that it sweeps away all that claims to be from above. Inspiration and miracles seem to him to be delusive phases of thought natural to a low horizon of the historical search for a philosophical religion. The belief in a *sruti* or revelation is in his view one of the weaknesses of the Vedanta philosophy.

The thread of connection running through these lectures is the historic study of opinion concerning the nature of the mode whereby the human can be brought into contact with the divine. This is sought in the pantheistic philosophy of the Hindu; in the dualistic religion of the Avesta; in the enthusiasm of the Sufi dervishes; in the world-spirit of the Platonist; in the logos of the Stoic and Neo-Platonist; and in the mysticism of mediæval Christianity.

In a series of successive, disjointed courses of lectures such as these, there is of necessity a considerable amount of repetition. This, together with the dreary verbosity of the long quotations

setting forth the Hindu philosophical systems, renders this volume less interesting to the reader than its predecessors were.

The survey of the Indian religious philosophy, as set forth in the Upanishads and Vedanta Sūtras, furnishes the materials for five of the lectures. We are here presented with a pure pantheism: Brahman is all in all. Our souls, which are of this divine nature, seem to us to be personal, separated from the all-pervading, and therefore impersonal, deity, because of our ignorance. By meditation and revelation this nescience is removed, and the soul is enabled to rejoin the great universal soul of the world, of which it is but a phase. This is the philosophy of illusion which is expounded by Śaṅkara in his Commentary on the Vedanta Sūtras, and according to which species are only recognised by us as separate on account of our ignorance of their real relations.

There is a second and more popular exegesis of the Vedanta philosophy, that of Rāmānuga, according to which the course of nature is one of unending successions of cycles of integration and disintegration, the world and the soul springing from Brahman by a kind of evolution, to return to him at the end of the kalpa, or cycle.

The course of the individual soul after death is determined mainly by ethical considerations. Three paths are open: one, the way of the gods, leading by certain stages to Brahman, for those who have attained to the highest knowledge; their souls ascending in the flame of the pyre. The second road, the way of the Fathers, is a longer course. The soul ascends in the smoke of the pyre, but again descends to the earth, enters certain food-plants, thence re-enters a human body to live again on the earth. The third course is that for evildoers, who enter the bodies of unclean or accursed living things.

The origin of this metempsychosis is ethical not animistic. It is a substitute for a Hell in the primitive Hindu eschatology. It is interesting to find that, while similar views were current in Greece, there are no traces of any belief in transmigration in ancient Egypt, except in such magical transformations as those in the story of Bata. These probably gave rise to the belief expressed by Clement (Strom. vi.) that this philosophy had come from Egypt to Greece.

The close connection of India with Persia is testified by the likeness of the mythological and eschatological teachings of the Avesta to those of the Vedic literature, of which they seem a later development. Professor Müller, for some occult reason, strenuously denies that the doctrine of dualism is an essential in the Zoroastrian teaching; but no unprejudiced reader of the Gāthas, the oldest of the Zoroastrian writings, can agree with him in this. There is a distinct assertion of the existence of two primeval

causes in Yasna xxx., which is occupied with the story of the contentions of these warring spirits. The denial of dualism is made on the high authority of Haug, who bases his opinion on passages such as Yasna xix. 9, in which "the better of the two spirits is represented as speaking to Zarathustra, indicating that the dual principles are immanent in the one divinity; but not only is that ancient commentary on the Ahuna Vairya formulas evidently corrupt and obscure, but this deduction from it is at variance with much older and clearer statements in the Gâthas, which are of higher authority. Thus, in Yasna xlv. 2, it is written, "Yea, I will declare the world's two first spirits, of whom the good thus spake to the evil, Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our consciences, nor our soul, are at one." Here, and in other passages which might be cited, we have as strong a contrast as possible between the vahistem manô and the akistem manô. In Yasna xix. itself there is an equally emphatic denial of the unity of the two.

Evidence of this kind abounds in the Avesta. The first Fargard of the Vendidad is occupied with the description of the rival creations of the good and of the evil spirit. In the twentieth Fargard we are told that Ahura Mazda brought down from paradise 10,000 healing plants to the first physician Thrîta; whereupon Angra Mainya created 99,999 diseases to afflict humanity.

The relation between post-exilic Judaism and Zoroastrianism, suspected by many scholars, is touched on in passing; and traces of Jewish influence are supposed to be shown in the monotheism of the Avesta, while traces of Median influence in later Judaism are surmised, especially in the doctrines of immortality and of resurrection.

While the derivation of the old Persian religious philosophy from an Indian source is almost certain, it is at least improbable that there was any direct genetic connection between the doctrine of transmigration, as taught in the Platonic eschatology, and that in the Vedantas. Our author follows Zeller in his treatment of this subject, and agrees with him in his conclusions.

The elevation of the one God to a supreme place produces a gulf between Him and humanity. Among the Greek Pantheists, such as Heraclitus and the Stoics, this was bridged over by an emanation from the Divinity, to which the name Logos was given. The development of this Logos-philosophy has been sketched in outline by Dr Bigg in his Bampton Lectures for 1886, and Professor Müller follows Bigg closely in his twelfth and thirteenth lectures, as he traces the Logos through the Neo-Platonism of Philo to the Alexandrian Fathers. His treatment of this subject is disappointing and superficial, and shows but little traces of original thought.

This is the more to be regretted, as the subject is one of great interest, and one which has been treated from different standpoints by several authors, not only by Drummond and Harnack, whom he has taken as his guides, but by Siegfried,¹ Soulier,² Laemmer,³ and many others, who have carefully traced the course and development of the Logos-philosophy.

Professor Müller, however, seems to attach far greater importance to the Greek side of the Logos-element in Christian philosophy than did the early apologists. There is at least as much to be said on the other side in favour of the Palestinian origin of the Johannine "Word." But whether Greek or Hebrew, the "Word," as such, plays but a small part in the Christology of the Gospels. The Jesus of St Matthew is as much a personal link between God and man as the Christ of St John. It is not the Name, but the Person, who is the real revealer of the Father.

Even Professor Max Müller's hero, Clement, whom he considers far superior to Paul, both in learning and philosophical strength, uses the name "Word" as a personal name for the personal Son of God, that is Christ, more frequently than in any mere philosophical sense, taking the name Word, as he found it in St John. (See *Protrept.* i. 7). It is surely misleading when the Professor says that Clement conceived this Logos in its old philosophical sense as the mind and consciousness of the Father. He speaks of the Logos as "divine, the likeness of the Lord of all things, the most manifest true God." The passage thus travestied is *Protrepticus* x. 110, and runs as follows: "For it was not without the divine care that the Lord finished so great a work in so short a time. He, though despised in appearance, was in reality adored, the sin-cleanser, the Saviour, the merciful, the Divine Word. He that is truly most manifest God. He that is equal to the Lord of the Universe because he was his Son," &c. The "Word" here is plainly the personal Christ.

In the writings of Clement the name Logos, as applied to the person of Jesus, was not merely a philosophic term, but was used to characterise a Historic Christ to whom his contemporaries had borne testimony. Jesus was to him a living active presence in the Church, as he says in *Paedag.* i. xi. 97, "So that from this it is clear that one alone, true, good, just, in the image and likeness of the Father, His Son Jesus, the Word of God is our Instructor, to whom God hath entrusted us as an affectionate father commits his children to a competent tutor," &c.

Nor was the Clementine Logos that which pervaded every human

¹ "Philo v. Alexandria als Ausleger des A. T." Jena, 1875.

² "La Doctrine du Logos chez Philon." Turin, 1876.

³ "Clementis Alexandri de Λογῶν doctrina."

soul, for while he recognises in the complex soul a certain element, which makes it dear to God, "καὶ τὸ φίλτρον ἔνδον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐμφύσημα λέγεται θεοῦ" (*Paedag.* i. 3); yet this ἐμφύσημα is quite distinct from the nature of God, "ὁ θεὸς δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυσικὴν σχέσιν ὥς οἱ τῶν αἰρέσεων κτίσται θέλουσιν οὔτ' εἰ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ποιοίη οὔτ' εἰ ἐξ ὕλης δημιουργοίη, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ὄν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ πάντα ἑτέρα τυγχάνει τοῦ θεοῦ," &c. (*Strom.* ii. xvi.).

There are many digressions in the course of these lectures which call for notice. Professor Müller repeats again his belief that book-writing does not appear anywhere in the history of the world much before the seventh century B.C. He qualifies this statement by saying that he refers to alphabetic writing, but the line between a phonetic syllabic system and a phonetic alphabetic system is a slight one, and if by means of the former man can write down and communicate to others his hopes and desires, then the work so written is as much a sacred book as the Qûran or the Upanishad. The abundant sacred literature in Egypt more than ten centuries before the date given by the Professor shows that, in that country at least, there were not only many who could write, but many who could read. Our Aryan ancestors may have been behind their Khamitic and Semitic contemporaries in culture, but the absence of a name for the art of writing in the oral tradition of the Aryans is no proof that the others were equally ignorant.

There is also an amusing digression on the origin of species and heredity on pp. 386-7, wherein the hypothesis of what the late Professor Laycock used to call "teleiotic ideas" is set forth.

The system of Christian Theosophy expounded in these lectures, with its easy explanations of the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith, is not likely to commend itself to the thoughtful student of the Gospels. The treatment of Christian doctrine reminds one of the methods of those eclectic philosophers whereof Clement speaks, "τῶν μὲν γὰρ κλέπται, ὧν δὲ καὶ παρήκουσαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅ μὲν κινούμενοι εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τελείως ἐξεργάσαντο· τὰ δὲ ἀνθρωπινῶ στοχασμῷ τε καὶ ἐπιλογισμῷ, ἐν οἷς καὶ παραπιπτουσιν."

ALEX. MACALISTER.

**Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften : Vierter
Theil : Kirchengeschichte.**

*Von D. Karl Müller, Professor der evangelischen Theologie in
Breslau. Erster Band. Freiburg i. B. 8vo, pp. xxii. 636.
Price M. 9.50.*

PROFESSOR MÜLLER'S aim is to furnish not a mere outline, but, in some measure, a philosophy of Church History. In his preface he declares the necessity of discarding "the old selection and arrangement of historical material." He desires to set forth the history in such a way as to exhibit "the close connection of its elements," and to survey events and circumstances "only in so far as they constitute vital forces of development or of limitation." His endeavour is "to hold the reins of the material at disposal firmly in hand, and to keep an eye always upon the history as a whole."

In comparison, accordingly, with other similar works of equal dimensions, Professor Müller's Church History takes up much less space with details of persecutions, missions, controversies, usages, institutions, &c., and much more with a review of the origin, growth, and issue of leading religious movements, including their connection with contemporary secular history. Thus, authentic and notable martyrdoms in the early Church are passed by with little or no notice; while the successive phases of the imperial attitude towards the new faith are succinctly traced, and the political, as distinct from the religious, motives of persecution are emphasised (pp. 54, 60, 98, &c.). We look in vain for detailed accounts of leading Gnostic systems, and of the less notable there is no mention. On the other hand, the historical genesis of Gnosticism, as a manifestation on Christian ground of the syncretic tendency of the age, is amply set forth; its essential dogmatic basis is clearly expounded; the nature of its service to the Church is explained; and its influence on Alexandrian theology, as well as on the ecclesiastical development of canonicity and catholicity, is lucidly traced (pp. 68-88). The account given of individual Apologists (p. 62) is little more than a catalogue, without either biographical incidents or literary abstracts; neither the recent discovery of Aristides' Apology nor the intrinsic interest of Justin's history tempts the author into details.¹ But the occasion of apologetical activity under the Antonines, as well as the general scope of apologetical literature, receives full attention; and in an interesting section on the Christian philosophy of the Apologists (p. 88) the author shows how, "notwithstanding their antagonism to Greek philosophy, (inward) continuity is to be discerned behind (outward) rupture." The external history

¹ The author assumes that his book will be supplemented by oral lectures.

of Arianism receives what many will consider meagre treatment; the Nicene Council is dismissed in a short paragraph; most of the synods during the thirty-five succeeding years are not even noted; and little is recorded regarding the personal history of the champions. But the development of the Arian, Semi-Arian, Athanasian, and Imperialist positions is succinctly described, and the causes of the early reaction against the Nicene creed and of the later counter-reaction in its favour are duly signalised (§ 55, § 59).

In *Medieval History* (which the volume before us brings down to 1270), the actual conflict between Hildebrand and the Emperor Henry IV. is condensed into a few brief sentences (p. 439); while the memorable scenes at Canossa and Salerno, which Sir James Stephen has painted in vivid colours, and over the former of which even Kurtz becomes graphic, are never mentioned. On the other hand, with a fulness not found even in larger histories (§ 129, § 130), the development of Hildebrandism is traced; the various aims of the great Pope are set forth in mutual relation; justice is done to the combination in him of the enthusiasm of a reformer assailing ecclesiastical abuse with the calculation of a statesman utilising the political as well as religious forces within his reach for the attainment of papal supremacy; and the issues, direct and indirect, of his policy are clearly and definitely detailed. The Crusades, again, are described with the utmost brevity, few particulars being given beyond statistics of places captured or lost; Peter the Hermit, the significance of whose crusading activity has been greatly exaggerated, is ignored; Godfrey, with higher claim to notice, all but shares the same fate; the chief expedition of St Louis receives only a single line. But there is a careful analysis of the various motives — religious, ecclesiastical, political, commercial — which led to crusading enterprise (p. 462); and the author reviews the effect of the movement upon European culture (p. 463), as well as its triple influence in augmenting the wealth, aggravating the abuses, and eventually undermining the authority of the Church (pp. 513, 563, 573).

As an example of effective and graphic treatment may be noted the two sections, § 52 and § 61, regarding the "Position of the Church," "Popular Religiousness," and "Paganism in the Church," after her triumph in the fourth century. In these sections the writer endeavours to show, on the one hand, how the power of the Post-Nicene Church to attract pagans did not depend entirely on its recognition as the Church of the empire, but had been gradually developed, in the latter portion of the preceding period, through self-adaptation to external environment; on the other hand, how this paganising process was stimulated in and after Constantine's time; how "heathenism, when it found no longer a place in the

Empire, took refuge in the Church"; how the polytheistic crave was met by Mariolatry, Angelolatry, and Saint-worship; how the frequent dedication of pagan temples and property to Christian use facilitated the transference of Christian associations to objects of heathen veneration; how pictures and statues of gods and demigods passed over to the new guardians of the Christianised sanctuaries; how the disuse of pagan mysteries was compensated for by the fuller development of the *Disciplina Arcani*, and the discontinuance of heathen festivals by the substitution, "often on the same day," of Christian celebrations; how the ceremonial ablutions, use of incense, lighting of candles, and votive offerings characteristic of heathen worship, all re-appeared with fresh significance in Christian temples; how sometimes Pagan "amulets and magic apparatus were simply furnished with Christian names," relics of divinities or heroes replaced by those of Christ or saints, and "oracular responses, formerly sought through 'thumbing' from the works of Virgil and others, similarly obtained from Holy Writ." Worthy of notice, also, is the author's habit of grouping various developments, contemporary or successive, as parts of one general movement; as when he recounts the different yet mutually related manifestations of the same "*Bewegung*" in the age of St Bernard (scholasticism and mysticism, monastic and ecclesiastical reform, lay activity and anti-ecclesiastical revolt, pp. 463-493); and when he traces the inner connection of three successive movements in the direction of evangelical poverty combined with home-mission activity, under Norbert of Xanthen, Waldo of Lyons, and Francis of Assisi (p. 565).

The Organisation of the Early Church is treated by our author mainly on the lines of Dr Hatch's well-known work.

The least satisfactory section of the volume before us is that on the "Beginnings of Christendom." Any historian who prefers not to deal with the supernatural facts which, according to the earliest historical records, constitute the basis of Christianity, is at liberty to commence his narration at a later stage; but if one elects, as our author does, to "begin at the beginning," it is hardly fair, without qualification or discussion, to represent as historical fact, that "after the Crucifixion the disciples, who had believed victory at hand, at once scattered, and returned in complete despair to Galilee. Here, however, they became assured that their Lord had not remained dead, but would return ere long for the establishment of His Kingdom. So they go back to Jerusalem, and, by means of secret announcement of their faith, obtain associates, and therewith fresh reporters, so that ere long, in Jerusalem, in other towns of Judea, and beyond Jewry, hidden and quiescent communities of believers are gathered together" (p. 23). Similarly unsatisfactory is Professor Müller's quiet ignoring of the "Birthday of the

Christian Church,"—the first Christian Pentecost. The testimony of the *Acts of the Apostles* to the fact of a special dispensation of the Spirit to the infant Church, whatever may have been its precise outward tokens, is confirmed (so far) by Scriptures of acknowledged authenticity (Rom. v. 5, Gal. iv. 6, 1 Cor. ii. 4, xii. 7-11). We must also dissent from the author's association of a substantially (p. 124) Ebionitish Christology with the representation of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. And the argument (p. 84) that the class of New Testament writings designated collectively as the *Apostolos* (including Acts and Epistles) "betrays novelty of origin," because these writings are sometimes, in the latter part of the second century, "not yet reckoned as on an equality" with the Gospels, is by no means conclusive. This delay of equal recognition arose not from the later origin of the writings (otherwise Romans, Galatians, 1st and 2nd Corinthians would have been the earliest to be recognised as "Scripture"), but from the nature of their contents, as not containing, like the Gospels, an account of the words and works of "the Lord."

Among minor defects (according to our judgment), we note the following:—1. Justice is scarcely done to the motive of moral reform which underlay the persecuting policy of the narrow-minded but patriotic and earnest Decius. 2. Mahometanism is regarded as little more than "the last notable link in the chain of syncretic religious developments" (p. 323), no account being taken of its (so far) Protestant elements, as a reaction against the idolatry, sacerdotalism, theological logomachy, and missionary apathy of Eastern Christendom. The author ignores the influence of Mahometanism on the Iconoclastic controversy, finding the motive for the Isaurian policy in the eighth century solely in the imperial jealousy of monastic power, and in the "conviction that the prevalent religious sentiment which was expressed in image-worship was morally enervating, and a hindrance to military efficiency" (p. 336). 3. The missionary labours of Anskar, the "Apostle of Scandinavia," are disappointingly referred to only in a parenthetical clause (p. 361); and the result of his missionary career is unduly minimised when it is described as "extremely small."

Professor Müller is a very careful writer, but here and there a trifling inadvertence occurs. The statement (p. 55) that, according to Hadrian's rescript, charges against Christians were to be received "only on account of non-religious offences," and that Hadrian "made the profession of Christianity as such actually free" goes beyond the record, although it is not unlikely, as Professor Ramsay suggests ("Church in Roman Empire," p. 323), that there is in the rescript "a studied vagueness in regard to the crimes of which proof is required." The Alogi are represented (p. 84) as ascribing

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no argument
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the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse to Cerdon, instead of to Cerinthus. Origen is quoted (p. 101) as stating the number of Christians in the empire to have been (in his own day) "very small." In the treatise against Celsus (iii. 10), Origen writes that "Christians *at first* were few in number in comparison with the multitudes who afterwards became Christian." In the account of the persecution under Diocletian (p. 163), it is said that after the edict of amnesty to all imprisoned clergy who sacrificed, "the prisons speedily became empty." This is rather strong a statement in view of that of Eusebius (viii. 3), that at this crisis "most of the bishops" remained faithful. The remark (p. 303) that after the Council of Whitby in 664, "the few Scots, who did not submit to the bishops of Romish ecclesiastical descent, left the country," conveys a wrong impression; for Bede (iv. 4) states that Bishop Colman, when he departed, "took along with him all the Scots whom he had assembled in Lindisfarne island, and also about thirty Englishmen."

Not the least useful feature of this Church History is the ample repertory of authorities and of literature prefixed to each section. The literature is chiefly German; but French works frequently, and English occasionally, are included. In the list of books referring to our Celtic Church, it is to be regretted that the invaluable "Celtic Scotland" is omitted, while a place is given to Bellesheim's History, which, as regards this subject, largely repeats in abbreviated form the results of Skene's original researches.

We shall welcome the publication of the second volume of Professor Müller's work. Even when one disagrees with the author, his interpretation of history is at once instructive and suggestive.

HENRY COWAN.

The Epistle to the Philippians.

By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of New College, Edinburgh.
London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893. 8vo, pp. xxiii. 556.
Price 7s. 6d.

THIS volume of the *Expositors' Bible* will be read with much interest, both for its own sake and because of the light it casts upon the inner thoughts of the distinguished author. As a volume in the Expositor series, it is not perhaps quite in its right place. The design of the series, as we understand it, is to afford to ministers and others a succinct account of the general character of Biblical books, and such interpretations of the text, especially of the more difficult portions, as shall render them independent of elaborate commentaries to which they may not have ready access. Dr Rainy has not done much of the work of the compiler. The

introduction is slight, some subjects being altogether omitted on which information and even discussion might have been reasonably expected. The Epistle is assigned to the latter part of Paul's Roman captivity, to which we believe it rightly belongs, but a fuller account of the circumstances amid which it was written would have been welcome. More might have been said, we think, of Rome, of the Roman Church, and of the Roman life by which Paul was surrounded when waiting the result of his appeal. Dr Rainy has not concerned himself very seriously with exact explanation of the Apostle's language, which is the strong point with most modern expositors, who elucidate every sentence and phrase, especially in their relation to the earliest readers. This pioneer work has been admirably performed by some commentators, whose attitude is that of detachment, or even of dissent, from the Apostle's faith. Dr Rainy makes no profession of being an impartial outsider, nor does he always separate interpretation from comment. Often, in the course of exposition, his own thoughts blend themselves insensibly with those of the Apostle; sometimes we have to pause and ask ourselves whether we are reading the sentiments of Paul or of his sympathetic commentator. Few readers will regret that the author has taken his own course, and, following the traditions of earlier commentators, has treated the Epistle as a book of Christian instruction and devotion for all time. What he has omitted to do, others have done, and their works are very accessible. By following his own bent, he has produced a useful and an eminently characteristic work—full of grave good sense, of devoutness, and of large-minded charity. The Principal's charity, however, is not the gush of inexperienced sentiment, which views everything in a rosy light, but the charity which has come through the fire of disillusion and disappointment. It has survived the experiences of a Church leader who has had to make acquaintance with the seamy side of Christian life. But, unlike Gregory of Nazianzos, he has never been tempted to salute Church Assemblies from afar, and it is interesting to find him expressing an opinion that it is the want of the "sun-light eye" that hinders many from perceiving the luminous side of the Churches of Christ. On this subject he writes as follows—

"In nothing is the Apostle more enviable than in this victoriousness of faith over the earthly shows of things, and over the unlikelihoods which, in this refractory world, always mar and misrepresent the good work. We, for our part, find our faith continually abashed by those same unlikelihoods. We recognise the course of this world, which speaks for itself, but we are uncertain and discouraged as to what the Saviour is doing. The mere commonplaceness of Christians, and of visible Christianity, and of ourselves, is allowed to baffle us. Nothing in the life of the Church, we are ready to say, is very interesting, very vivid, very

hopeful. The great fire burning in the world ever since Pentecost is for us scarcely recognisable. We even take credit for being so hard to please. But if the quick faith and love of Paul the prisoner were ours, we should be sensitive to echoes and pulsations and movements everywhere,—we should be aware that the voice and the power of Christ are everywhere stirring in His Churches."

The same wise charity is apparent in the remarks regarding Paul's habit of accepting, without caution or question, the profession of Christianity. A Church might contain unworthy members, but it was not the Apostle's part, writing to the Church, to allow that possibility to confuse or lower the style of his address to Christ's Church. "If any have entered Christ's Church who are content to continue in worldliness and sin, that is solely their own personal sin. But not for that will the Apostle come down to speak to Christ's Church, as if it should be thought of as a company to which holy and unholy may equally well belong."

The chapter, "Our City and the Coming King," contains some sagacious thoughts on Christian citizenship, and some very characteristic counsels addressed to those who demand a complete and perfectly harmonised Christian life in this imperfect world. "The dream of those who would achieve a perfect harmony in the present state, and under present conditions, is vain. A perfect Christian harmony of life cannot be restored in the body of our humiliation. The nobler part is to own this, and to confess that, amid many undeserved good gifts, yet in relation to the great hope set before us, we groan, waiting for the redemption."

There is not much theological writing in the volume. On the speculative side of the subject of Kenosis—regarding which all wise men are agnostics—he preserves prudent silence, and on the much-contested expression, ii. 6, he has less to say than might have been expected. There is, however, a gently-worded protest against a view of Christ's person which is rapidly gaining ground among young thinkers—of which this much may be said with confidence, that it is far more revolutionary than its light-hearted advocates permit themselves to think. Dr Rainy writes of it—

"In the hands of divines the humanity of Christ has sometimes seemed to become shadowy and unreal, through the stress laid upon His proper Godhead; and now men have become anxious to possess their souls with the human side of things, even, perhaps, at the cost of leaving the Divine side untouched. The recoil has carried men quite naturally into a kind of humanitarianism, sometimes deliberate, sometimes unconscious. Christ is thought of as the ideal Man, who, just because he is the ideal Man, is morally indistinguishable from God, and is in the closest fellowship with God. Yet He grows on the soil of human nature; He is fundamentally

and only human. And this, it is implied, is enough; it covers all we want. But we see this was not Paul's way of thinking. The real humanity was necessary for him, because he desiderated a real incarnation. But the true original Divine nature was also necessary. For so he discerned the love, the grace, and the gift by grace; so he felt that the Eternal God had bowed down to bless him in and by His Son. It makes a great difference to religion when men are persuaded to forego this faith."

Principal Rainy's volume can be confidently recommended to those who are wearied of smart and rhetorical writing on religious subjects, who do not crave for novel views or pungent sensations. They will find in it the good sense of a good man, and a genuine Christian fervour pervades it; all the more impressive that it is restrained, and expressed in quiet unambitious language.

JOHN GIBB.

Das Weltproblem und seine Lösung in der Christlichen Weltanschauung.

Von Dr Heinrich Kratz. Zweite Ausgabe. Gütersloh: E. Bertelsmann. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vi. 331, 8vo. Price, M. 3.

THAT this book has in the course of half-a-dozen years got into a second edition shows that Dr Kratz has had something to say which the public has judged to be relevant and helpful. A second edition of such a book means something. For the book is by no means easy reading. And Dr Kratz has not made a naturally difficult subject any easier to read by clearness of diction or grace of style. The appearance of the page is forbidding. We have dashes innumerable. There are curved brackets and square brackets, sometimes brackets within brackets, until the reader gets impatient, and asks why can't Dr Kratz write like other people? It must therefore be the goodness of the material which has carried the book into a second edition.

Dr Kratz deals with the problem and its solution in the Christian theory of the world. He remarks at the outset that the problem of the universe is ever new, and continually presents itself as a problem to be solved by man. What is this problem? and how is it presented to man at the present day? In answer, Dr Kratz describes the genesis of the problem. He traces the course of the spiritual development of an educated man from his earliest childhood up to the stage of the highest culture. A child is a living being, with sense, memory, and reflection early at work; who speedily has the use of language and the power of asking questions, and comes,

sooner or later, to a clear consciousness of himself and of the world. He attains also to some culture. This culture is the product of many factors, which need not be enumerated here. Dr Kratz follows the growing boy through his school days, through his course of higher education, as the higher education is constituted in Prussia, until at length we have before us a thoroughly cultured Prussian gentleman. It is an interesting description, into the particulars of which we have no space to enter. Suffice it to say that he is learned in all the sciences. He is learned in physics, chemistry, physiology. He knows languages theoretically and practically. He knows psychology, logic, ethics, theory of knowledge, and knows religion as it has been historically manifested in all religions, and is acquainted with all its particular problems. But the particular problems dealt with by the special sciences only form elements of the one problem set to man by the world as a whole ; and with this problem an educated man has to deal.

Having shown how the mind of the educated man opens to the knowledge that there is a problem, Dr Kratz next presents us with what he calls the statistics of the problem of the world. It is pointed out that a solution of the world problem must be thorough, must explain everything, and place everything in its proper place and relation to the one system. If anything is left unexplained, so far the *Weltanschauung* is a failure. What are the things which on the material side are to be explained? These are the statistics of the world problem, and Dr Kratz sets them forth in the second part of his book. We may give one statement of the various things which are to be explained. There are the following grades of existence :—

I. Matter. II. Crystals = matter + individuation, *i.e.*, disposition of parts to a relatively independent whole. III. Plants = individualised matter + life = disposition of parts to an independent living whole. IV. Animal organism + psychical being (*seelischem*). V. Man = psychical organism + consciousness, or spirit = soul + consciousness, Person = being with self-consciousness.

These, according to Dr Kratz, are the successive grades of being. But when we reach spirit or person, we are embarked on a new sea, and are in presence of a new set of phenomena. These are : Memory, reflection, speech, morality, religion, and there are also parts of the objective world, which a true theory of the world must explain. There are also phenomena, not merely of the individual human life, but also of the organic social life of man, which must be taken into account—the family, relations of families, labour and capital, politics, international life. In fact, Dr Kratz enumerates and describes all the activities and relations of humanity to man, to the world, and to God, and then sets them down as elements of

the problem which is to be solved. So much for the statement of the problem on its subjective and its objective side.

The solution of the problem as a whole is found in the Christian theory of the universe. By this Dr Kratz does not mean the Christian theory as it has been set forth by Christian theologians, nor by the writers of the Old Testament scriptures, nor even by the writers of the New Testament. The Christian theory is the theory of the world as it existed in the mind of Jesus Christ, and as it is embodied in His life and words. Mainly from the Gospels are we to construct the Christian theory of the world. So Dr Kratz sets it forth partly in the words of Christ and partly in the necessary presuppositions of His words. We have space for the propositions, but not for his elucidations of them. 1. The world is. 2. God is over the world. 3. God is spirit. 4. God is good. 5. God has created the world. 6. God maintains in being and rules over the world which He has made. 7. God has made man in His own image. 8. Man has become sinful. 9. God has appointed Jesus Christ to remove the estrangement of man from God, and Jesus Christ, through His word, through His work, and through His passion, reconciled man with God. 10. For He has taught men "the truth." 11. He has realised goodness. 12. The passion of Jesus Christ atoning has power. 13. Jesus Christ exists still as a living personality, and, with absolute power, continues the work of the religious and moral recovery of man begun during His earthly life. Other propositions refer to the life of faith and its consequences, to the effects of unbelief, to the development of the kingdom of God, and the realisation of the Divine plan by means of it. These are familiar propositions, and the elucidation of them by Dr Kratz is clear and satisfactory. But how do they stand in relation to the solution of the world problem? How do they enable us to conceive the universe as a whole, and to see each part of the universe in relation to each other and to the whole? The answer to this question is contained in the fourth chapter. "The worth of the Christian theory of the world as knowledge of the world." This chapter takes the form partly of criticism of opposing theories, and partly of developing his own conception of the Christian theory of the world. He begins by setting forth the right relation and respective spheres of knowledge and faith. Then he dwells on the fact that the Christian theory presupposes the world as real and objective as opposed to all idealistic and subjective theories. Next he deals with all materialistic theories, and criticises the mechanical theory of the world, and shows that there are three great laws at work in the world. "Causality, purposiveness (Zweckverhalten), freedom, united, form the key that opens for us the wonders of the real world." Causality and freedom are in the service of

purpose, and through these three laws we attain to real knowledge ; detailed knowledge and knowledge of the whole. Then follows a comparison of the theory of evolution with the Christian theory. Dr Kratz affirms that only on one point is Darwinism in emphatic contradiction with the Christian theory. That point is the origin of man. Here he has Russel Wallace on his side. In other respects evolution is consistent with Christianity. Finally, he deals with Pessimism. Dr Kratz has striven to show that no theory except the Christian has any light to cast on the great problems of the origin of the world, its meaning, and its destiny ; on the origin and purpose of man ; on these laws that have worth for the life of nature and of man ; on the present state and future destiny of man and of the world ; on the origin, nature, and worth of the religious and moral conceptions which exist and are at work in the world. If, then, the Christian theory is consistent with all real knowledge and with all true science, if it affords light and guidance when all other theories fail, if it explains what would otherwise be inexplicable, then the Christian theory clearly holds the field. This is the claim which Dr Kratz has made for Christianity, and he has vindicated it with great learning, with subtle and earnest reasoning, and with a deep knowledge of science, philosophy, and religion. These are points open to criticism, but the argument as a whole is valid, and is certainly admirably set forth.

JAMES IVERACH.

Geschichte und Offenbarung im Alten Testament.

Von Wilhelm Lotz, Doctor der Theol. und der Phil., ordentlichem Prof. an der k.k. evangelisch-theologischen Facultät zu Wien. Zweite durch ein Register vermehrte Ausgabe. Leipzig : J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Edinburgh and London : Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 358. Price, M. 7.

ONE of the most pressing problems that confront the Christian teacher in the present day is the question how to adjust the preaching of the Gospel in a right relation to the results of Old Testament criticism. These results have heightened our appreciation of the earlier revelation, so that the easy Marcionite tendency to neglect the Old Testament, and confine attention to the New in popular religious work, which was distinctly observable a generation ago, has been checked and reversed. It is now seen more clearly than ever that the living presentation of the Hebrew faith, which has emerged from a scientific and sympathetic study of its history and development, claims a prominent place in the exposition of that larger and richer teaching which afterwards sprang up on the soil of Judaism.

But the traditional adjustment does not seem to suit the later conclusions. How, then, can the relation between the two covenants be viewed to-day? Professor Lotz's treatise is an attempt to answer this question. Its religious earnestness, its eloquent style, and the striking thoughts which here and there flash out of its pages stamp it with a certain value in spite of the disappointment one is compelled to feel with the *a priori* method, the bold assumptions, and the vague generalities in which the author indulges too freely.

Professor Lotz justly observes that, if all we have to say in reply to the changes effected by criticism is that one point after another, formerly thought to be essential, is really of no importance, the total result must be a sense of shrinkage and impoverishment. He aims at showing that there is another side of the process which indicates gain and enrichment. There are two characteristics of our age, he reminds us, in its treatment of such subjects as this—viz., a perception of the reign of law, and the growth of the historical spirit. The two indeed are closely connected, so that they react on one another. They cannot be discarded; nay, they must be welcomed with gratitude in the study of the Old Testament, for they greatly help it. The main thesis which runs through the book is an elaborate exposition of the idea that the Old Testament history and revelation constitute a necessary preparation for Christianity. The history of Israel differs from other history in what happens; but not in the general method of its course and progress. God's work in restoring the living union with Himself, which had been broken by sin, is supernatural, and therefore it cannot be traced back to any cause in the chain of normal human events. Nevertheless the resultant development—based as it is on a divine interference in the first instance—is normal, and according to the laws of human nature and history. It is the same with the individual. The natural man cannot perceive the Spirit of God; when any one perceives the Spirit it is through a supernatural influence; still what happens in him afterwards is a thoroughly natural process of growth.

Dealing in the first chapter with the aim of the Old Testament history, Professor Lotz maintains that it would have been impossible for Christ's redemptive work to have accomplished its end apart from this historical preparation, seeing that it was not a mechanical process from above breaking forcibly into the human world, but a spiritual influence bearing upon the minds and wills of men, who therefore needed to be brought up to the receptive level. Professor Lotz meets the objection, that, although a similar preparation had not been carried through in heathendom, the Gospel was preached there with fruitful effects, by pointing out that in all such cases in the past, as it is in the present with modern missions,

the Gospel went hand-in-hand with the whole range of life and thought, the human preparatory setting, that was established in the Christian centre from which it spread. The Old Testament revelation, and the Jewish history in which it was embodied, could never have produced Christianity. This was an entirely new thing, supernaturally brought about by the act of God, in sending His Son to save the world. But the preparatory work had to be done first. If Christ had not come to a prepared people, it would have been necessary for Him to teach. But teaching is not the calling of a Saviour (?). Moreover, the previous Jewish history and revelation were necessary for the human development of Jesus on earth—a striking thought which would repay careful expansion.

The second chapter treats of the existence and nature of the salvation-history of the Old Testament in general. God revealed Himself to Israel in an especial personal way. This revelation took two forms. The first was in a purposeful shaping of the destiny of the nation, the second was in the immediate communication of Divine truth in prophecy. If God had not sent Moses, the earlier revelation to the patriarchs would have been lost. Each stage was necessary to preserve previous acquisitions and to add to them. Still, all along, God speaks without disturbing the course of the history; nor is individuality of thought excluded.

The third chapter takes up the method of direct revelation. This is always made to an individual—a prophet. Its genuineness is proved to us by the fact that it leads up to Christ, and also historically, by its opposition to current notions—the true prophets of God contradicting the false prophets, who speak smooth things, welcome to their audience, with reliance on the saving goodness of God towards Israel, but in neglect of the moral conditions of that salvation. As stern monitors of conscience, indicating those great moral conditions which are essential to the enjoyment of the Divine deliverance, the inspired prophets stand out boldly against the current of their age, and thus show how they draw their ideas and their strength from supernatural sources.

Professor Lotz next proceeds to discuss the nature of miracle and prophecy. Miracle cannot be a breach of a law of Nature. The very idea of such a thing comes from our confusing two entirely different meanings of the word "law." To men, morally and politically, "law" means a rule *outside* them which they are called upon to obey; but a law of nature is nothing but a generalisation of the way in which things happen, and it is inherent in the things to which it applies. The breach of such a law would really be the destruction of the thing in which the law adhered as a property,—it would be the removal of one of its essential attributes, without which it would cease to be itself—would become something else. The

miracle cannot even be a setting aside of any part of God's plan of creation. It must have been foreseen, and it must have taken its place in the aim of that plan. It is to be regarded as the spiritual world influencing the physical. Similarly the gift of prophecy does not disturb the natural processes of the thinking mind of the prophet ; yet it introduces new influences to bear upon the prophet.

The next chapter discusses the influence of the Spirit of God generally upon men under the Old Testament religion, and along general lines.

Now it must be confessed that all this is only *too* general. We expect more exact handling of concrete facts. We are left too much in the region of abstractions, which is also often the region of assumptions. Is it so clear that a Divine interference at certain points in national history, and again at certain points in individual lives, does not set aside the process of natural development ? We may say, perhaps, that this is like the work of an engineer who deflects the course of a river which, however, still flows on in obedience to the law of its nature to be always seeking the lowest level. But then another difficulty emerges. Are the intervals of normal development deserted by God ? Does He only appear at the crises ? Or should we not think of Him as immanent in the whole course of development ? But if so, why make the harsh distinction between the moment of revelation and the general movement of the history ? Why so sharply divide the supernatural from the natural ? The Old Testament did not know this distinction.

At the very end of his book Professor Lotz comes down to the ground of tangible historical facts, and delights us with a really brilliant review of the course of Hebrew history and development. But he should have given more space to this, and less to the difficult abstractions which occupy the bulk of his volume. Even here he devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of the narrative of the Fall in Genesis. He holds that the external details of the story cannot be historical—the serpent speaking, etc. Yet he adheres to the Lutheran idea of a very lofty nature in Adam before the Fall. Indeed he says we cannot even imagine Adam's first estate, because we have not the means of conceiving of the nature of a being so much exalted above ourselves. After this it is rather surprising to find Professor Lotz accepting the critical views which throw doubt on the patriarchal narratives. The ten commandments and the foundation of the "Torah" are ascribed to Moses ; Deuteronomy was the first great law-book, and it was put together by priests in the time of the kings ; the final editing of the Pentateuch came later, but how much of this was novel Professor Lotz does not attempt to say. Surely the place of the law in relation to the

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development of the religion of Israel was far more important than, say, the question whether God spoke audibly to the outward ear of prophets, or by means of inner voices, to which the author devotes so much more attention. Here is the weakness of the book. It is not sufficiently historical. While claiming the historical method as one of the good fruits of the age, Professor Lotz is still too much in the toils of the old dogmatic method. The result is some difficulty in perceiving the force of an argument three parts of which are carried on in the lofty region of *a priori* reasoning, while the remainder is too meagerly set forth to cover the ground of the history. Nevertheless, with all its drawbacks, the book succeeds in impressing upon us the fact that the Gospel came into a condition of divine preparedness which was not essentially contrary to the normal development of history.

WALTER F. ADENEY.

The Old Testament and the New Criticism.

By Alfred Blomfield, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Colchester. London: Elliot Stock, 1893. Pp. 182. 8vo. Price 5s.

THE Bishop Suffragan of Colchester has evidently no consideration for his reviewers. There is no table of contents, no index, no preface, no explanatory headings to the pages, nothing, in short, beyond the title to indicate the scope and contents of the book. In these circumstances I must ask leave to transcribe *verbatim* the opening paragraph. "A considerable portion of the following pages has already appeared in a serial publication in the form of criticisms on the work of Professor Driver, the 'Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.' The present writer has there, in the plainest terms, disclaimed the possession of Hebrew scholarship. Those persons, therefore, who consider that that want disqualifies him who confesses it from pronouncing any opinion, or forming any judgment, on the criticism of the Old Testament, will naturally not trouble themselves to read this little book." The bishop deserves all credit for his frank confession. The want of Hebrew scholarship does not disqualify him or anyone else for pronouncing an opinion or forming a judgment on the criticism of the Old Testament, but it does disqualify him, in my opinion, for intervening as an *authority* in such matters as are here discussed, and for using his official position in the Church of England to create a prejudice against the scientific study of the Old Testament. Let us have the fullest and freest discussion of these topics. We cannot have too much discussion. But it seems to me to be a *sine quâ non*

that it be conducted on either side by men who have mastered at least the rudiments of the subject. What right, we may fairly ask, has even a bishop to inveigh against the critical analysis of the Old Testament books, as is here done *passim*, when he is confessedly unable to distinguish the style, say, of the priestly from that of the prophetic narrator in the book of Genesis? Still more inexcusable does the bishop's position seem to be when he indulges in personal attacks on the two dignitaries of his Church who are regarded as the two most prominent representatives of the higher, or, as our author prefers to say, of rationalistic criticism in England, impugning their honesty and challenging their right to retain "their pre-ferment and place in a Church whose very existence is bound up with all that they doubt or deny" (pp. 126, ff.).

Canon Driver has no right to object to honest criticism, however adverse, but he may justly take exception to such a glaring misrepresentation of his general attitude as that at the top of page 89: "In every case where no indications of the date of a work are unmistakably given, Dr Driver apparently feels it his duty to assign to every book as late a date as possible." Every unbiassed student of the "Introduction" must have seen that precisely the reverse of this is nearer the truth. How crude, again, is the statement a few pages later (p. 95) "that the assignment of Isaiah xl.-xli. (*sic*) to a pseudo-Isaiah" is due to a "bias which has influenced the rationalistic critics," namely, "the determination that Isaiah *must not be allowed to have predicted anything which happened long after his own time*" (the italics are the author's)!

Lest it should be supposed that the present reviewer is unduly influenced by a "bias," I hasten to add that there are in Dr Blomfield's book one or two things which merit a word of praise. Thus there is no doubt that in his fourth and last chapter he has laid his finger on not a few of the "subjective partialities and prejudices" of Wellhausen, but I am not aware that many of our British scholars are prepared to follow him in these. The bishop's severest critic must also admit that there is a deal of good sense in his remarks on the dangerous character of the *argumentum e silentio* (pp. 170, ff.). Taken as a whole, however, the book is not one that is likely to prove a strong bulwark of the traditional views.

ARCHD. R. S. KENNEDY.

Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments in Verbindung mit Professor Baethgen in Greifswald Professor Guthe in Leipzig, Professor Kamphausen in Bonn, Professor Kittel in Breslau, Lic. Marti in Basel, Professor Rothstein in Halle, Professor Rüetschi in Bern, Professor Ryssel in Zürich, Professor Siegfried in Jena, Professor Socin in Leipzig, übersetzt und herausgegeben von E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle.

Sechste Lieferung [pp. 465-576 ; 33-48]; *Siebente Lieferung* [pp. 577-688 ; 49-64]. *Freiburg i. B.* [London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. Subscription-price, M. 9.]

THE new translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which has been undertaken by a notable group of German scholars, under the general editorship of Professor Kautzsch of Halle, has now reached the end of the second division of the Jewish Canon. The two parts under review comprise the whole of the *Prophetæ posteriores*, except the first half of the book of Isaiah. Professed Old Testament students are presumably already familiar with the general aim and plan of the work, but there must be many outside the small group of specialists for whom a word of introduction to so praiseworthy and onerous an undertaking may not be out of place.

The intention of editor and publisher—as the public were informed when first invited to subscribe—is that this translation shall take the place which that of De Wette so worthily filled for a less critical generation of German students of Holy Scripture. It aims, therefore, in the first place, at conveying to its readers “the contents of the Old Testament in clear, present-day German.” As a subsidiary, but scarcely less welcome aim, may be noted the endeavour to convey to the non-specialist some idea of the results of modern criticism respecting the mode and date of composition of the various books. In the case of the historical books this is done by setting in the margin the conventional symbols for the original “sources” (for the Pentateuch *e.g.* P, J, E, etc.), while the various sections of the prophetic books are provided with dates giving, approximately, the time at which the discourse in question was delivered. The translators, of course, work from the Massoretic text, admitting only such corrections as have the support of parallel passages, or of the versions, or have otherwise the highest degree of probability. One other feature of the translation deserves mention, for it is the feature in regard to which the work of Professor Kautzsch and his coadjutors contrasts most sharply with that of our own revisers.

The latter have followed their predecessors in translating every passage from Genesis to Malachi *somehow*, the German scholars have admitted, by the not unfrequent occurrence of gaps in their translation, that certain words and passages are untranslatable.

The contributors to the two parts before us are: for Deutero-Isaiah, Professor Ryssel (Zurich); for Jeremiah, Professor Rothstein (Halle); for Ezekiel, Professor Siegfried (Jena); and finally for the minor prophets the editor himself, Professor Guthe of Leipzig, and others. The names just given are sufficient guarantee that the translation here offered to the German-speaking and German-reading public of Europe and America is the work of men who are in the front rank of European scholarship, and who, as theological teachers, are in full sympathy with the sacred authors whose words they seek to interpret to us. The translation, as a whole, is more modern in vocabulary and style than our revised version; yet, while accuracy has been their chiefest aim, they have striven to reproduce in some measure the rhythmic flow of the original. Professor Ryssel seems to me to have been particularly successful in this respect in several passages of his fine rendering of the second Isaiah. His critical standpoint is a moderately conservative one. Yet even for him these chapters are not a unity. Chapters lxiii.-lxvi. are a series of appendices to, and of somewhat later date than, the main body of the prophecy, but the question is left open as to whether they are by the author of the rest of the book, or by some of his disciples, writing in Jerusalem after the return. There is no hesitation, however, in regard to the section, ch. lvi. 9-lvii. 13, which is "clearly of pre-exilic date." Many will be pleased to note that the great section of the "Servant" (lii. 15-liii.) is retained for the "great Unnamed." In matters of textual criticism, Professor Ryssel has availed himself largely of the recent publication by Professor Oort in the *Theol. Tijdschrift* (1891) of a conspectus of the emendations adopted by a number of Dutch scholars for their new translation of the Old Testament. In lii. 15, however, he retains without comment the received reading (יִה) in the sense "he will make to start up (in astonishment and reverence);" in the difficult verse 9 of the following chapter, Böttcher's conjecture עֲשֵׂי רַע (for עֲשֵׂי רָע) is accepted, by which means the parallelism is preserved, while בִּמְתוֹ, underlying the LXX. rendering, is preferred to the Massorettes' בִּמְתֵּי. The verse then reads: "And they assigned him his grave with the wicked, and with the evil doers when he died." This, at least, gives an intelligible meaning to the verse, and is obtained with the minimum of textual change.

With regard to Ezekiel, the editor is to be congratulated on securing as translator so ripe a Hebraist as Professor Siegfried of Jena, best known to students by his valuable summaries of Old Testament

literature in the *Theolog. Jahresbericht*. The notes on the emendations of the text—given as usual at the end of the part, though paged separately—are more detailed than in some of the other books, and show a due appreciation of the labours of Smend and Cornill in the elucidation of this difficult book.

When we pass to the work of the editor and his colleagues on the minor prophets, the frequent gaps show the difficulties of translation which abound in this part of the canon. The critical notes, which on this account should have been frequent and full, are here disappointingly meagre, the note on the well-known *cruz interpretum*, Amos v. 26, occupying not quite three lines. A comparison of the translation of the minor prophets here given with that of Wellhausen, recently published (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 5), shows that—as was right in a work destined less for specialists than for the educated Bible-reader—the former is much the more conservative in its attitude to the Massoretic text. Indeed, in several cases a somewhat bolder treatment would have been amply justified, as in Micah i. 10 (Wellhausen here rejects the usual emendation “in Accho” in favour of “in Bekaim”).

Enough has been said to show that we have here an excellent illustration of what can be done for the popularising of the results of Old Testament research. When completed, the work will occupy a unique place as a monument of German scholarship and of successful collaboration for the highest of ends—the more faithful interpretation of God’s message to His chosen people.

ARCH. R. S. KENNEDY.

Wyclif Literature: Communication on the History and the Work of the Wyclif Society.

By Dr Rudolf Buddensieg, of Dresden.—From 1882 to 1888.

THE Wyclif Society being now of ten years’ standing, the time is ripe for a review and estimate of the joint work of the Executive Committee and the staff of editors. I therefore avail myself of the opportunity offered by the editor to give a statement on the Society, its progress, and the services it has rendered to theological and historical research.

Until within the last fifteen years the opinion prevailed among Protestant scholars in England, as well as on the Continent, that John Wyclif’s country had been singularly neglectful of the memory of one of its greatest men. England seemed to have forgotten that not only is Wyclif the father of her prose, but also the first to do battle in the cause of Biblical faith and English freedom with a foreign power that openly denied both. Every Englishman knew that

Wyclif was one of the nation's great men ; at the same time many were conscious that he was not known as he should have been. Nobody denied that his influence upon his time and his people was deep ; *how far* it extended nobody could well say. On many, perhaps on most, Englishmen, as the late W. W. Shirley remarked, his dim image looked down like the portrait of the first of a long line of kings, without personality or expression.

The only way to understand and to value the great men of the past is to read them, not to read about them. Wyclif, therefore, who stood on the boundary line between two orders of thought, and in whose noble personality the great movements which stirred the English people at the close of the Middle Ages were united, ought to be read in his own works. Until within the last few years, however, the Reformer, as regards his most important utterances, had remained unknown. First hand knowledge was wanted.

In these circumstances, and to meet this want, the Wyclif Society was founded in March 1882. From its very beginning its object was to relieve Wyclif's fatherland of the shame of having left the greatest and most important writings of the Reformer buried in manuscript. This neglect had then extended over nearly five hundred years, and only small efforts had been made, mainly by German scholars, to repair it. Since the Reformer passed away in 1384, 466 years had elapsed before his English Bible was printed ; 485 years after his death his "Select English Works" were published ; and in 1881 the rest of his English writings appeared, under the editorship of F. D. Matthew.

These works showed Wyclif in his purely English aspect as the "Father of English Prose." As compared with his Latin writings, they were not of much value for the study of his theological, political, and social views ; neither did they enable the scholar to follow the growth and development of his mind, or to understand his vast influence upon the evangelical movements on the Continent which arose before Luther's Reformation.

Of his great Latin works, which are to be taken as the storehouses of his ideas of reform, only the *Triologue* had been several times printed ; and Dr Lechler of Leipzig, in his great biography of Wyclif, had published in Germany a few short pieces and some extracts. From 1873 on to 1880, with the view of filling up this unworthy gap, I had myself copied and collated a number of Wyclif tracts, and had offered them in 1881 to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press. The offer was made in the belief that this University, which emphatically claims Wyclif for her own son, would take the lead in presenting his works to the public, and that the Board would be ready to offer its help in reviving the memory of one of the greatest doctors of their ancient seat of learning.

But in this expectation I was mistaken. For reasons which I do not know the Delegates declined the offer.

I then endeavoured, by private letters to English friends, to draw the attention of scholars to the importance of the work which I had in view. At last a letter, which I sent to the editor of the *Academy* on 17th September 1881, proved successful. It led to some correspondence with English scholars, among whom were Professor Montagu Burrows of Oxford, and F. D. Matthew of London, and a short time afterwards, through the exertions of these gentlemen and the kind and powerful support of Dr F. J. Furnivall, the Wyclif Society was called into existence, and I was asked by the Executive Committee to print the *Polemical Tracts*, which I had prepared, as the Society's first two volumes.

After the initial difficulties were surmounted in securing a sufficient number of members and a working basis of subscriptions, the Society slowly made its way, notwithstanding the heavy outlays which had to be incurred at the outset in the copying and collating of texts. But in 1884 the Quincentenary of Wyclif's death gave the Society, which at first numbered about 150 members, with a yearly subscription of one guinea each, a new impulse; and although the public response to the appeal of the Quincentenary Committee proved less encouraging than had been anticipated, and although the celebration did not reach the intensity of feeling called forth in Germany by the Luther Jubilee in the previous year, the Executive Committee of the Society felt that a new interest in the life and work of Wyclif had been aroused, and rejoiced that this interest had brought important accessions to the ranks of the Society. His Grace the Archbishop of York and more than fifty new members gave in their names, so that the list rose to 330. A few years afterwards His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury took the place of patron; Dr Thomson, of York, accepted the post of president; men of the highest rank became vice-presidents; and at the head of the roll of members stood the names of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and Her Serene Highness the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar.

Dr Furnivall, who, with unabated energy and enthusiasm, continues still at the head of the Society, first took in hand, with a staff of competent English, German, and Austrian scholars, that great collection of Wyclif treatises which is known as the Reformer's *Summa Theologiae*. It is preserved in manuscript in the splendid series of codices which are in the possession of the Imperial Palace Library of Vienna.

In 1883 the first two volumes, making 940 pages, were given to the members. They contained the *Polemical Works* of the Reformer, and were prepared for publication by the present writer.

In the general introduction to these two volumes I have given a detailed discussion of Wyclif's "Latin Works and their bearing on his Schemes of Reform," as also of his "Polemical Works and their general import." Then follows a description of the Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, and Ashburnham Manuscripts. The introduction winds up with a lengthened statement on the guiding principles followed in my editorial work. Then comes the text of the Polemical Tracts against the Sects, of which these deserve especial mention:—*De fundacione Sectarum*, *De nova prevaricancia mandatorum*, *De triplici vinculo amoris*, *De septem donis Spiritus sancti*, *De quattuor sectis novellis*, *De dyabolo et membris suis*, *De solucione sathane*, *De perfeccione statuum*, *De religione privata*. This is followed by the text of the Polemical Tracts against the Pope—*De citacionibus frivolis*, *De Cristo et adversario suo anticristo*, *Cruciata*. Three indices are provided in an appendix.

All these works show Wyclif in the heat of his struggle against the usurpations of the Pope and the four Mendicant Orders. They make it clear to all who think it worth while to overcome the difficulties of the Wyclifian idiom, that never before in the Middle Ages had so mighty a voice been lifted up against the powerful priest at Rome. Neither the energy nor the many-sidedness of the attack made by this keen-eyed and determined Englishman was seen in the case of the Cathari or the Waldenses, in that of Bernard of Clairvaux, or Arnold of Brescia, in that of William Occam or Grosseteste, in that of Richard Armagh or Bradwardine. It was in the sturdy Yorkshireman that the dominant spirit of the Middle Ages found its ablest, sharpest, and most characteristic opponent. There was almost unanimous consent of opinion among the reviewers of these two volumes, that even the fifteenth century had no man to place on a par with Wyclif in this respect, and that only the mighty voice of Luther's burning indignation and evangelical scorn against the "abomination in the sanctuary," as uttered in the great writings of his "Sturm-und-Drangjahr," surpass in force of expression, intensity of feeling, and depth of thought these deliverances of Wyclif. His charges against the supreme head of the Papal Church speak what was quite novel and unheard of to his contemporaries. In vain do we seek in the Latin works, which were printed before 1882, for so systematic an attack upon the Papacy as is presented in these first publications of the Society. The "*Cruciata*" and the "*De Cristo et adversario suo anticristo*" bring us to the climax of this attack. Both give us in broad outlines the whole-hearted, deliberate opposition of the greatest Reformer before Luther, and enable the scholar to form a conception of Wyclif's struggle against the Pope which differs in many ways from that formerly entertained.

The publication of these volumes proved also in another direction of special interest for those engaged in Wyclif studies. Close upon their appearance there was published in Prague, by Dr. J. Loserth, Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz, an Essay on the relation of Hus to Wyclif (*Hus und Wiclif. Zur Genesis der husitischen Lehre. Prag, Tempsky 1887, 317 pages*), in which the learned author, by a comparison of the newly-published Wyclif texts with the writings of Hus, showed that the whole Husite movement was merely a Bohemian Wyclifism, that Wyclif was the original thinker to whom Hus owes "nearly the whole of his theology as set forth in his Latin Tracts," and that "it was in upholding Wyclif's teaching that Hus lost his life by the stake at Constance."

It may be said, therefore, that in a theological and historical point of view, the Society started its work under happy auspices. The more was it to be regretted that in the following year (1884), the year of the Quincentenary, the Society was not in a position to send out a new volume to the increasing number of members. It was not until the autumn of 1885 that this was done. The new issue was the first volume of the *De Civili Dominio*, edited by Dr Reginald Lane Poole of Oxford. The text of this book, based on the only existing manuscript, Cod. Palat. Vindob. 1341, contains Wyclif's view of property, his theory of government, and his view of the right of civil rulers over the property of the Church.

Wyclif maintains there that, as dominion implies a true use of the thing possessed, it is incompatible with mortal sin; that, on the contrary, every one in a state of grace has a real lordship over the whole universe; and that it follows that, if an ideally perfect community could be established on earth, all goods would be held in common.

He contends in the second place that the law of the Gospel is of itself sufficient for all purposes of human life and government.

His third argument is that, although monarchy has, in its present condition, many advantages, the best form of government is aristocracy, of which the rule of the Hebrew judges is to be considered the typical example.

He holds lastly that the Church, that is, the whole Christian commonwealth of England, may righteously deprive a sinful clergy of their worldly endowments.

This volume, edited with the utmost care by a competent scholar, must be regarded as one of the most valuable additions to our knowledge of Wyclif's social ideas, shedding as it does in many directions quite a stream of new light on the Reformer's so-called communistic theories.

The second volume, sent out to the members in 1884, is Wyclif's

De Compositione Hominis, edited, with facsimile of the manuscript, by Dr Rudolf Beer of Vienna, a small volume of 144 pages. This is one of Wyclif's early works, probably written by him when he read his scholastic lectures at Oxford. It ranks as the first purely philosophical writing in a Wyclifian sense. Based on five codices, three of them belonging to the Imperial Palace Library of Vienna (7307, 7507, and DCCCII.), and the others to the Prague University Library (P. VIII. F. I., and VIII. 9, 6), its text gives us a pretty clear insight into the philosophy which lies at the root of the Reformer's literary activity and his intellectual influence in general. The fulness and clearness with which this philosophical basis is exhibited is quite extraordinary in a work of so small a compass. In a certain sense, however, this early treatise, which shows Wyclif still in the bonds of the scholastic learning, excites a feeling of disappointment. It is well known that Wyclif's ideas of the grandeur and sublimity of Holy Scripture were of the most pronounced order. It has been shown by scholars like Dr Lechler and Dr Vaughan, that in his early days the future Doctor Evangelicus protested against the one-sided prominence accorded to the scholastic system; and it adds not a little to the interest of Dr Beer's volume that we find in it distinct traces of this antagonism. The effort, however, which is made in this work to harmonise the Aristotelian psychology with Christian dogma has the stamp of the impracticable, and such an undertaking is doomed to failure from the outset. Wyclif himself becomes, as Dr Beer observes, conscious of this, and from this consciousness many a doubt results to which he gives expression. This conflict appears in the short pamphlet just as it does in the great phases of the Reformer's later life, and for this reason this small contribution to the Wyclif literature is not without value as a characteristic exponent of the mental altitude of his earlier years.

In the year 1885 Dr Johann Loserth, Professor of History at the University of Czernowitz, and A. W. Pollard, M.A., of Oxford, made important contributions to the cause. The former gave to the world Wyclif's famous book, *On the Church*, the latter his *Dialogue*. On the theological and historical importance of *De Ecclesia* I need not expatiate; neither need I dwell on the skill and inexhaustible energy which Dr Loserth has exhibited from the year 1885 on to this moment in his numerous Wyclif publications. The Society is to be congratulated on having secured the assistance of a scholar who is in every respect equal to the exigencies of a critical task of great difficulty.

The text of the *De Ecclesia* is edited with critical and historical notes, and is based on three manuscripts (Codd. Palat. Vindob., Nos. 1297, 3929, and Cod. Univ. Prag. X. D. 11). The notes in English are due to F. D. Matthew, Esq. The translation of the

detailed Introduction, in which Dr Loserth deals with the most important questions bearing on Wyclif's theory of the Church and on criticism, is from the experienced hand of Miss Alice Shirley.

Wyclif's great work, *On the Church*, is divided into twenty-three chapters, in which he states at length his doctrine of the Church, both as to idea and as to realisation. The Church "is the entire body of the predestinate, past, present, and future, whose head and eternal ruler is Christ. It is divided into three parts, viz., the *Triumphant* (the blessed in heaven), the *Sleeping* (the souls in purgatory), and the *Militant* (Christians living in the world and fighting with it).

No mere man, Wyclif maintains, can be head of the Church. No Pope, therefore, should affirm that he is the head of it; for he does not even know whether he is predestinate, or whether, on this account, he is a member of the Church at all. It is no article of faith that one must obey the Pope in order to be saved; for there were holy men in days before the Romish Papacy was known. In the days of the Apostles and Martyrs, and even at the present time, there have been, and are individuals, as well as whole nations, who never heard of the existence of a Pope. He is, therefore, not the head of the Church universal, but only of a particular church; and even this title may be conceded to him only so far as he lives in accordance with the laws of Jesus Christ. In that case we owe him obedience, but so far only as he enforces the commands of Christ the Lord. Further than this nothing can tend to the spiritual good of a Christian individual or community but a sound faith.

Now, if a Pope gives his rules, bulls, and decrees to the Church, the Christian is entitled to enquire whether those orders emanating from "the high authority of a Pope" are in harmony with the Word of God. And this is one reason why every Christian ought to be acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. Further, as it is impossible for us to know who is a true member of the Church of Christ, the canonisation of Saints is against His will, a falsehood and mischievous practice, contrary to the Bible. Wyclif then gives his view of the relations which should exist between Church and State. He maintains that no abbey, church, monastery, or chapel lies outside the king's jurisdiction. He energetically upholds the civil authority of the king over the clergy, at the same time affirming the duty of the laity to deprive the clergy of their temporalities if they misuse them. The work then concludes with an argument and a strong protest against the abuse of Indulgences,—which (in the main) were afterwards both adopted by Hus.

From this short abstract we get a glimpse of the significance which Wyclif's ideas of the Church had for the development

of the theology of the time, for the progress of Church history, for Hus and his successors. In his introduction, Dr Loserth shows at some length how a special kind of literature groups itself round this great work, including not only the writings of Hus, but many other literary productions of the Bohemians of the fifteenth century. For Wyclif found, as Loserth shows, a whole number of imitators in Bohemia, and thus his idea of the Church came to be of profound importance for subsequent times. His opinion ruled theological thought for nearly two centuries—on to the time when Luther arose. After the disputation of Leipzig in 1519, Luther in fact was presented, by a deputation of the Moravian Brethren in Prague, with a copy of Wyclif's work.

At any rate, it has become more and more clear that the master-mind of Wyclif was only insufficiently understood by his own contemporaries and even his next followers; that his original thoughts contained the most fruitful germs for the historical progress of the human mind; and that a larger use should be made of this profound thinker in the theological and philosophical discussions of the present day.

Mr A. W. Pollard has edited Wyclif's *Speculum militantis ecclesie vel Dialogus* from the Ashburnham MS. XXVII. c., and has collated its readings with those of the Vienna codices, Nos. 1387, 3930, and 4505. Notes are given at some length, while the critical apparatus is limited to an indication of the leading varieties of reading given under the text.

The *Dialogus* has for its subject mainly the endowment of the Church. It teaches that all property held by the clergy in direct ownership should be abolished, while tithes are not condemned, if used properly. The Pope, it seems, *non est Christi vicarius, sed vicarius Antichristi*, and his temporal possessions make him "an obstinate heretic." "His name is unknown to the Holy Scriptures," and "it might be good for the Church to be without a Pope."

Mr Pollard points out that the question of date with regard to the *Dialogue* is of peculiar interest. By dating it at the year 1379, although he does not look upon this year as finally settled—the editor is enabled to fix an earlier date than was hitherto known (the year 1379) for Wyclif's final opinion on Transubstantiation. That opinion was to the effect that "Consecration is not material, but spiritual," and that "the Host, although at every point in it verily and indeed Christ's Body, remains bread as to its substance as well as in its accidents."

In the year 1886 the Society sent out to its members two works of Wyclif, hitherto unknown, *De Benedicta Incarnatione*, edited by the Rev. E. Harris, and the *First Part* of that splendid series of *Sermones*, the editing of which has been entrusted

to the untiring hands of Professor Loserth. The treatise published by Harris (first printed from the Vienna Cod. Palat. Vindob., Nos. 1387, 4307, 4504; and Oriel MSS., Cod. Oriel, Oxford XV. and Cod. Brit. Mus., Bibl. Reg. 7, B. III.; and edited, with notes and indices, by E. Harris, M.A.), makes a volume of about 300 pages. It has a preface of about thirty pages, and gives the text of the tract, pp. 1-232, to which are added Wyclif's "References to Holy Scripture," "To other Authors," an "Index of Rarer Latin and Greek Words," and a "General Index." Mr Harris has based his text in the main on the Oriel codex, which he considers relatively the best, but has also made constant use of the corrections of the Vienna Manuscript, procured for him by Mr F. D. Matthew and Dr Beer.

De Benedicta Incarnatione is an early production of the Reformer, belonging, as Mr Harris states, to the year 1363. It is the work of "the Oxford realist theologian, whose mind is already awakening to great difficulties underlying current conceptions, but is not yet pressed by certain conviction or by circumstances putting him in immediate opposition to the old forms of ecclesiastical thought." This is in itself an important point for Wyclif scholars, as the present tract is an example of the Reformer's earlier ways of thinking, and gives an insight into the development of his ideas which none of his former works furnish. We find Wyclif unable up to this time to divest himself of the scholastic habit of mind; but, on the other hand, it will not escape the attentive reader that new thoughts announce themselves, more especially in his deeper conception of the essence and value of belief. We feel, as we read, that the trite and obsolete forms of the scholastic theology, with its peculiar definitions and distinctions, no longer hold the mind of Wyclif, the *preacher* and the *writer*. This is the case particularly with regard to his ideas of the Lord's Supper, which, in spite of his zeal for the ecclesiastical *formulae* of the day, already bespeak the future heretic. "In much of this treatise there is crudity and confusion; but there is also the germ of the revolt from mediæval Rome, and the prophecy of the English Bible," remarks the editor. In this respect a special interest, of course, is to be attached to Wyclif's Eucharistic views. Some indication of the attitude which he afterwards took up towards these questions may be gathered from his line of argument. The mystery is to him *miraculosa transsubstantiatio*; he is not unaware of, or unwilling to quote, the opinions of certain saints (*quotlibet dicta sanctorum*), which seem to mean (*sonant*) that even after consecration bread and wine remain what they were before. He then endeavours to explain their words away in what seems to him the orthodox sense, but gives up the attempt to define the mysterious change.

On the other hand, the treatise, as a theological discussion on the Incarnation, will leave the reader unsatisfied. The impression prevails throughout that the difficulties of the problem are too serious for the young professor's capacity; the argumentation brings home to the reader the inevitable conclusion that human thought and language are, after all, unequal to the task of dealing with this mysterious problem, "where conception absolutely fails, where language moves without ideas, where all is lost in one vast and vague emotion of awe."

The *Sermones*, the editing of which has been undertaken by Dr Johann Loserth, belong to the latest period of Wyclif's life. For a few of them Loserth, it is true, claims an earlier date, ascribing them to the time *dum stetit in scholis*. But he shows convincingly that the final revision of these parts also falls within the years 1381-82, and that the sermons were handed over by Wyclif for use by his Simple Priests, whom he sent out through the country.

In these sermons the preacher's attacks upon the Mendicant Friars, the lordly prelates, the Pope, and the Romish abuses are full of individuality and interest, whilst positive statements are not wanting as to what the true priest, the true bishop, and a true Christian Church ought to be. The new thought, springing from the Gospel as its source, is here unreservedly expressed, that the first and chief work of a priest is the proclamation of evangelical truth.¹ The preaching of the Word of God, he says, is the first duty of the pastor, and is in itself much more important than the administration of the sacraments, for Christ Himself speaks through the preacher, and provides by him spiritual children for the kingdom of God and for the heirship of heaven.

In an interesting Introduction, the tasteful translation of which is due to Mr Matthew, these new ideas on the pastor's duties are followed up by Loserth, who discusses at some length the question of the necessity, purport, and form of evangelical preaching. In a subsequent chapter he also shows conclusively how far, even in this homiletical province, Hus, the Bohemian, was dependent on the Englishman. Two well known sermons of Hus, *De pace* and *De fide sue elucidacione*, are almost literally and in their whole compass borrowed from Wyclif's.

¹ "Primum atque precipuum opus pastoris est veritatis fidei evangelizacio." "Evangelizacio talis verbi est preciosior quam ministracio alicuius ecclesiastici sacramenti curati." "Similiter ex effectu evidet: Evangelizacio est opus precipuum curatoris (*of the curate*), nam plus profecit Cristus in suis apostolis evangelizando gentibus quam faciendo quecunque miracula, que in persona propria fecerat in Judea? Fuit maius miraculum Cristi predicacio tanto mundo gentilium et convertendo ad fidem Cristi in tempore tam modico tantum populum personarum tam simplicium quam alia miracula que Cristus post incarnationem fecerat."

Loserth has based the text of his first volume of the *Sermons*, the special title of which is, *Super Evangelia dominicalia*, on Cod. Cambr., Trinit. Coll. B. 16, 2, and has compared its readings with those of Codd. Vindob. Palat. 3934, 4529, 3928, and 3921. In fixing the text, the English MS., which is the oldest and most trustworthy, has mainly been used.

The second part of the *Sermons*, a volume of upwards of 500 pages, with extensive indices, formed the first publication of the Society for the year 1887. This part contains the most interesting and important of Wyclif's Latin discourses, while the other parts consist almost entirely of expositions of the sacred text and philosophical disquisitions; and while his antagonism to the life and doctrine of the hierarchy shows itself only occasionally there, in this second part his political, as well as his ecclesiastical and doctrinal convictions, which were the ruling ideas of the four last years of the Reformer's life, are given with great force of expression. Almost every sermon contains something bearing on his fierce conflict with the Friars. Of this we also hear from his contemporaries, who described the ferment produced by him amongst the English clergy, and, to some extent, amongst the nation at large.

The very first sermon indicates the character of the whole collection, and shows, at its very outset, in a telling manner, the force of Wyclif's thought and language. "To-day all states may rejoice," the preacher exclaims, "rejoice and be ashamed withal. The princes may rejoice, for under the government of one of the greatest princes whom the world has ever seen, the Saviour is born, and He has commanded men to give the worldly power its due. He Himself paid for Himself and His followers the tribute due to the Emperor. The poor may rejoice, for never did anyone accept poverty out of purer motive and greater love than Christ. Lastly, all those may rejoice who, in respect of worldly goods, are placed between these two states, because Christ, living in the state most worthy of honour, scorned to beg, and molested neither rich nor poor. But the rich may be ashamed, who protect antichrist and endow him with earthly wealth. The hypocrites may be ashamed, who blasphemously declare that Christ was a beggar. And finally, all those may be ashamed who consent to the treacherous robberies of antichrist." This antichrist, in Wyclif's opinion, is no other than the Pope, and the preacher does not refrain from calling him so, not conditionally, as in numerous other works, but absolutely.

As in this first sermon, so in all that follow, fierce attacks are made upon the Papacy with its retinue of false, worldly priests, and upon the begging friars in particular. The preacher here addresses the learned world in Latin, with all the candour and

directness which are so conspicuous in the discourses by which he and his Simple Priests sought to reach the mind of the people. War is declared against Pope, prelate, monk, and mendicant; "*Papa est Antichristus*"; his power of loosing and binding is a corrupt power; it has been made subservient to the one base object of extorting money from the faithful; its real purpose, to open the gates of heaven to believers, is no longer regarded. The Church is stained and ruined by lies and error; her priests have become worldlings who have fallen into unbelief, and can no longer be borne by the community. Monachism is ruined; its reform is a pressing need; the Church's bitterest enemies are these monks with their scandalous doings. Full of greed and wickedness, they have given themselves up to pride and lewdness; they are bent on nothing but worldly gain; they lie, and serve the father of lies, trampling God's commandments under foot. Their order should, therefore, be abolished, for they are useless to the community, enemies to the realm. Their one thought is to make their art of begging as productive as possible, for "only those priests are chosen who skilfully preach the money of the rich and the poor out of their pockets." And as they find a sure refuge and effective protection in the bosom of the Church, they calumniate and malign as heretics all those who strive to remove their abuses. Therefore the temporal power must come forward and strike at the root of the evil. The benefices ought to be taken from the hands of the clergy, who must content themselves with food and clothing. The Church property belongs to the poor of the country. Big churches and cathedrals are not suited to lead the hearts of men to God; they spoil them of their piety; nevertheless the friars make the utmost exertion to build for their order as many and as splendid houses as possible, and churches mounting to heaven like the tower of Babel; the Regulars construct cloisters like castles and fortresses, but do not concern themselves about the Word of God. God despises such buildings; the Apostle did not permit magnificent castles and monuments, not sanctioned by Holy Scripture, to be erected. These grand palaces and houses of the Mendicant Friars (*Caynitica Castella*, as he calls them), are to be compared to dens of robbers. As of old Cain built the first town, not for the protection of the inhabitants of the country, but to conceal his spoil, so do these friars now. They build houses and churches in order to deceive the people who bring them alms, and to conceal their spoil. It must, therefore, be questioned whether these buildings held by monks and friars are of any use at all to the Church. Christ Himself condemned such sumptuous houses both by word and by deed. "*Christus reprobatur ipsas tam opere quam sermone. Cum enim sunt non per se virtuose, quia existencia extra animam, videtur, quod non sapiunt*"

virtutem nisi de quanto facilitant ad virtutem ; si autem ad illam facilitant, hoc est propter honestatem loci, in quo incolentes orare devocius delectantur. Sed que ratio ad illud, cum locus carceris a Christi martyribus fuit oracionibus devocioribus decoratus ? Baptista fuit in heremo ad maiorem contemplandi celsitudinem elevatus, ymmo Christus et patres tam nove quam veteris legis sub divo effuderunt devocius preces suas. Quando enim Christus pernottavit in oracione, non fuit inclusus in templo, nec patriarche orantes devocius constituerunt sibi basilicas, sed scientes Deum ubique esse sibi aptarunt loca in quibus mens eorum plus mundialibus sit distracta. Basilicarum autem constructio inducit oppositum, consumit bona ecclesie et inducit errores multiplices. Certum est, *quod non ista signa, que querit generacio adultera, sed mens mundata a crimine, persona exercitata pro Christo in meritoria passione, et spiritus elevatus ad Deum in humili devocione denominat locum sanctum.*"—*Sermo XLV.*, p. 328-329. Therefore, he goes on to say, *what is required by these monks and friars is sharp oversight, poverty, a simple life*—in short, *reformation.*

In this discussion on the removal of abuses among the monks and friars, Wyclif goes so far as to declare, *that the Church would not perish, even if the sacraments and sacramental usages were taken away.* For the Christian needs only to believe in God and Christ, and to observe His laws. To him Christ the Saviour is Pope, bishop, and priest, and He has the power to bestow the grace of salvation without these symbols.

It may be easily seen, from these violent attacks upon the monks and the hierarchy, how unpopular Wyclif would become with these classes, the more so as his followers carried these doctrines to great lengths, and preached them in pulpit, street, and field. The movement, we now all know, spread more and more deeply and rapidly, extending all over England where Wyclif's disciples promulgated these doctrines. The result is described with pungent force by the pen of a contemporaneous writer: *Hoc anno fratrum elemosine subtrahuntur, mendicantes laborare iubentur, praedicare non sinuntur, denariorum praedicatores et domorum penetratores vocantur* (*Eccl. Hist. Contin.*, p. 355, ad annum 1382). The impression produced by these sermons, as is shown by various English witnesses, was quite extraordinary. Nevertheless, strong as it was at the time, it was counteracted in England by the all powerful hierarchy. But Loserth has elsewhere shown that on the Continent, in Bohemia, a different fortune attended these sermons. There they were passed from hand to hand by the learned ; they were used in the pulpit ; and, though coming from a foreigner and an Englishman, they powerfully excited the public mind, for many decades inflaming the people with hatred and wrath against the prelates and

monks. In many cases they were taken as a work of Hus, an error which even augmented their power. How they acted upon the public mind in Bohemia appears from the outrageous and bloody attack upon the monks, and the destruction of the most renowned churches and monasteries, which took place in Bohemia in August 1419, and entirely altered the religious and ecclesiastical state of the country. These events made their influence felt for generations. Their result was seen in the following century in the blood spilt and the destruction wrought in a large part of Germany.

The text of this second volume of *Sermons* is based on Codd., Cambr. Trinity Coll., B. 16, 2; Vindob. Palat. 3928 and 3921; the *Sermons* belong to the same period of Wyclif's life as those of the first volume.

As the second publication for 1887 the members of the Society received the tract, *De Officio Regis*, forming the eighth book of Wyclif's great work, called *Summa Theologiae*. This volume is edited conjointly by Messrs A. W. Pollard, M.A., and C. Sayle, B.A., both of Oxford. For their text they have made use of Codd. Vindob. Palat. 4514 and 3933 and of Cod., Prag. Univ. X. D. 11. This volume forms a strange contrast to the "plain outspokenness" which characterises the denunciations and exposures of the Mendicants in the second part of Wyclif's *Sermons*.

It is a very intricate and difficult discussion, arguing in a scholastic way the social-political problem of the royal prerogative in its mediæval form. The difficulty of the editors was increased by the inferiority of the manuscripts first made use of. It is only by the collation of the Vienna MS. that a decent text has been reached.

In the opening chapter Wyclif declares that he is to treat of the Military Order as in his *De Ecclesia* he has treated of the Clerical, and in especial to declare *what is the office of the king, and what are the relations between the royal power and the clerical*. I cannot undertake to give in detail Wyclif's ideas on his subject, the rights and duties of an English king. He is very often diverted from his theme by scholastic dissertations on subjects only loosely connected with his main topic, by invectives against Papal abuses, by attacks on the civil and canon law, etc. But as far as we follow his argumentation, we have ample reason to admire his leading ideas, at least on their political side. Despite their mediæval clothing, we find in Wyclif's arguments the principles by which Englishmen have been guided in the greatest crises of their political history. An English king, Wyclif maintains, must be supreme in his own land against both Pope and emperor. The English common law is as good as, and even better than the Roman. Foreigners who enjoy the royal protection are expected to be loyally obedient to the king's authority. From his own subjects he expects obedience—absolute obedience.

Wyclif, it is true, seems in this respect to argue on lines little in accordance with the course of English history ; but obedience, as he takes it, has many sides. It does not permit its object to do wrong, and may lawfully take the form of resistance to tyranny, even to the point of putting the tyrant of the land to death. Again, the king is supreme over all human law ; and yet, by virtue of a law of still higher, because divine, authority, he is bound to rule his subjects in accordance with this law, and is not allowed to use his dispensing power but for the weightiest reasons.

Once more, when he treats of the king's relations to the Church, the tendency of his doctrine, though not given literally, is in the direction of his supreme headship. Whatever is important or useful for the welfare of the country comes within the jurisdiction of the king. This is, the editors say, the keynote of Wyclif's doctrine, and Henry VIII. himself could have asked no more. It is the king's privilege and duty to see that the bishops do their work. He also must see that every parish has a true theologian as its priest ; and true theology is not the teaching of the Pope or the Decretals, but a theology based on the Word of God. He does not in plain words say that the king must be the ultimate judge of what is scriptural theology and what is not ; but on the other hand he supplies a foundation on which subsequent reformers could fairly claim that their own theories were to be based. In this connection a suggestion may also be mentioned, that Parliament and a Synod of the clergy sitting together should form a court in which ecclesiastical complaints should be heard, and whose sanction should be an indispensable preliminary to excommunication. There is on Wyclif's side no shadow of doubt, that with the king rests the absolute right to withdraw all clerical endowments, on the ground of the wellbeing of the Church, as well as the right to use, if the case should happen, the property of the Church for national purposes—such as defence.

It is, I suppose, quite superfluous to add that, from a historical and ecclesiastical point of view, these are ideas of momentous importance, and deepest interest, even to the Englishman of the present day.

As to the date of this work of the far-seeing controversialist, everything points to the time closely following the *De Ecclesia*, which was written, as Loserth has shown, in the winter of 1378.

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

The Documents of the Hexateuch, translated and arranged in chronological order, with Introduction and Notes, by W. E. Addis, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford. Part I.—The Oldest Book of Hebrew History.

London: David Nutt. 8vo, pp. 324. Price 10s. 6d.

IN this volume Mr Addis has done the larger part of a much-needed work, and has done it admirably. It would be difficult to praise too highly his mastery of his subject, or the lucidity with which he sets it forth. For a technical work, the style is as unusual as it is refreshing.

Mr Addis' object is to separate from each other the documents of which, it is now generally agreed, the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua are composed. He begins with the oldest of them—the oldest book of Hebrew history, as he somewhat ambiguously calls it—the combined narrative of the Jahvist and Elohist; and what this volume contains is a translation of that document, with notes, and preceded by an introduction. The introduction is a history of the criticism of the Pentateuch, with an exposition of what Mr Addis believes to be its approximately final results in the views of Graf and Wellhausen. The history of the criticism is adequate, and will stand for many a day as the best short account on the subject. The complicated development of opinion during this century is prudently treated by disentangling its two main lines, the argument as to their being separate documents, and the argument as to their dates. In the second, or expository, part of the introduction Mr Addis works within limits,—that is to say, his long and thorough study, both of recent criticism and the originals, has so convinced him of the correctness of Wellhausen's views, that what he gives us is an exposition and occasional defence of these, rather than a full discussion of the whole question, or an original contribution to its solution. Readers, therefore, need expect nothing new. What they will get is the best statement in English of the Graf-Wellhausen theory, as well as an additional support to it from a strong and independent scholar. Mr Addis says: "I have not concealed my agreement with the school of Graf and his eminent disciples, on the whole." Indeed, he fails to follow Wellhausen almost nowhere, and nowhere attempts to take a step in advance of him. Except on the authorship of the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue, and the disentanglement of a few other confessedly composite passages, Mr Addis' adherence to the German critic is exact. There is the same arbitrary treatment of historical evidence on the other side. The appearance of ancient forms and phrases is still treated as proof

of an antiquarian taste. A late date for the Decalogue is assigned on the strength of one or two points, without any consideration whatever of the large elements in tradition, or of the established facts of history that are on the other side. It is still assumed that the Israelites under Moses were a purely nomadic tribe, without any experience of settled life behind them, without any prospect of settlement in front of them, and that consequently their possibilities must be estimated solely by those of Bedouin life to-day. Thus the Fourth Commandment is summarily dismissed from so early a connection with Israel by the remark that the "Sabbath implies the settled life of agriculture;" we are not reminded of the ancient origin of the Babylonian Sabbath, of the connection at that time between Babylonia and Egypt, or the possibility of the truth of the tradition that Israel was no desert tribe, but a migrating people, with both the memories and the hopes of a settled life. That is but one instance of a neglect too common with the scholars, to whom Mr Addis adheres. Nor is there any attempt to estimate the significance of the moral elements of the "Oldest Book of Hebrew History" for the reconstruction of Hebrew history. Mr Addis is swift to point out the elements that indicate a low and coarse stage of morality and religion. But he does not draw attention to the ethical delicacy and insight and expertness in tracing the development of individual character, which distinguish the book. And yet it is this which, by placing the book separately before us, he has enabled us to feel. That a work containing the account of the Fall, the story of Cain and Abel, the story of Jacob and Joseph, could be written in Israel at least before 750, is, in the history of Israel's religion, of a significance great enough to be estimated more carefully than it has been by historical criticism.

Mr Addis' translation is founded on a careful and scholarly revision of the text. He tells us he first made his own translation, and afterwards adapted it as closely as he could to the Revised English version. The result is very satisfactory, as elegant and dignified as our Revised version, and much more correct.

Every one who reads this work of Mr Addis must cordially thank him for it, and repeat the wish of the preface, that the opportunity may be afforded to Mr Addis to complete the documents of the Hexateuch in another volume.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

"The Christian View of God and the World as centering in the Incarnation." Being the Kerr Lectures for 1890-91.

By James Orr, D.D., Professor of Church History in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1893. Text, pp. 412; Notes, pp. 116. Price 12s.

ONE regrets that the title of this book could not have run, "The Christian *Weltanschauung* as centering, &c," for this German word is really the only single term which expresses the idea. The expansion of it into "View of God and the World" is apt to put the reader of English only off the rails, for it suggests the restricted topic of what is technically called, in a theological system, its Cosmology, or its doctrine of the relation of God to the Cosmos, whereas a very much larger idea is intended. What is expressed by *Weltanschauung* or *Weltansicht*,—"a darling word of our time,"—but an idea common to all times and schools, and indispensable to them all is the total reality which any philosophy or religion represents to its upholders. To state the Christian *Weltanschauung* is to answer the question, What is the upshot of our Christian belief as a whole? What *Universum*, consisting of God, man, the world, and of all their issues, does it present?

The aim of the work, then, is at once systematic and apologetic. Systematic, because it gives a view of Christianity in its entirety as centered in the fact of the Incarnation; and apologetic, because it compares at every successive point this whole with the corresponding view of things implied in all other systems of thought which in any way profess to rival or supplant the Christian. In this latter aspect it might be roughly titled, "The Christian system of truth defensively stated," and from this point of view alone it is invaluable to the busy theological student. Any such who want to know what the modern attacks on any leading item of the Christian faith really amount to, and how they may be best met, can be safely referred to Dr Orr's treatise for as wise, well-informed, and concise an answer as can be found anywhere in theological literature. But to state the aim of the whole work thus would be to do it less than justice. Its combination of systematic and apologetic, if not exactly original, is so managed as to be thoroughly fresh. We have no book which takes exactly this line. It does not pursue the usual course of apologetic, into detailed defence of the Christian system of doctrine. It states the entire Christian reality as grouped round the Person of Christ, as embraced by the Christian heart and lived upon in true Christian lives. Then it asks, How does any other construction of God and His universe show beside

this? What has any other way of putting things to offer as an addition or as a substitute? Thus its treatment of other modes of thought and belief is not wholly negative. The valuable line is taken, at various points, of indicating what the growing lights of philosophy and science have accomplished in the way of confirming certain Christian positions. Further, in a similar line, it is shown that Christianity has no quarrel with the valid and truthful elements in certain systems which range themselves as opponents; or rather, that in Christianity, as nowhere else, the severed portions of truth found in all other systems are organically united. This not unusual line of remark is summed up in a practical inference, not so commonly kept in view—indeed, the opposite to that drawn by some Christian apologists—viz., “that it is the unwise way possible of dealing with Christianity, to pare it down, or seek to sublimate it away as if it had no positive content of its own; or by lavish compromise and concession to part with that which belongs to its essence. It is not in a blunted and toned down Christianity, but in the exhibition of the Christian view in the greatest fullness and completeness possible, that the ultimate synthesis of the conflicting elements in the clash of system around us is to be found.”

The quality which will most fascinate theological readers of the book is the mastery with which the author commands the literature of the whole theological field, as well as of adjacent regions in philosophy and science. The sceptical and rationalistic positions of our day are treated with thorough insight; and a large place is given to the examination of the latest form of Christian reconstruction in the writings of Ritschl and his more prominent followers, *e.g.*, Herrmann and Kaftan. No such definite estimate of this school has appeared in English theological literature as that which may be gathered from Dr Orr's pages. It confirms what some have for a good while back surmised as to the issue of the movement, viz., that it will part into two distinct waves of thought, one gradually retiring to sink in the barren shore of Socinianism, the other returning with some fresh gains into the ocean of œcumenical Christian belief.

One of the most valuable literary features is the deft and concise way in which detailed theological questions in debate are stated and disposed of, *e.g.*, the Biblical view of man's psychical constitution, its doctrine of the Divine Image, the natural arguments for immortality, the failure of evolutionism to account for man as he is, and many others which might be named. No doubt the patient inquirer into these questions will often desiderate a fuller treatment than the plan of the book could allow room for, but the various *précis* to be found at the appropriate place in its

general survey are excellent finger-posts to the way in which each topic is approached by the modern mind; while its citation of the relevant literature is ample and thoroughly up to date. The central theme of the Incarnation is, of course, treated most fully, viewed in every considerable aspect and connected with the main lines of Christian doctrine which are determined by it. That, simultaneously with that of Dr Fairbairn, another large treatment of theology with the same emphasis on the Person of Christ should appear among us is a tribute to the Christocentric character of our best recent thinking. This central assertion of the Christian view is compactly treated in Lecture VI. It has been led up to by lectures on each of the main Christian pre-suppositions; its Theistic postulate; its view of Nature and Man; its view of Sin and Disorder in the world. Then it is followed by Lecture VII., on the Light which Incarnation throws on the Concept of God; Lecture VIII., on its relation to Redemption from Sin; and Lecture IX., on its relation to Human Destiny or Eschatology in general. If there is any sign that the scheme is rather large for even one considerable volume, it is that the last topic is somewhat less adequately treated than the others.

It is matter for gratification when a teacher of Christian theology in our time has the courage to set at nought some of the age's prejudices. Not only is there not the slightest approach in all these pages to a sneer at "system" in the teaching of Christianity; there is something far better—namely, a powerful demonstration, by example, of the solidarity of the Christian faith. This is exactly what those divines who allow themselves cheap sarcasms at the systematic form of Christian doctrine seem to overlook. A Christian teacher may for himself be so penetrated by the Christian view, so secured in it by grace and time, that for him the connected form has comparatively less importance. But he is not to forget how the prevailing craze in disparagement of that connected presentation acts on those who are in the immaturer stages of religious life. How fatally such may mistake, when they suppose themselves possessed of a real Christianity, while rejecting portions of it which experience has proved to be essential! To hold a partial Christianity in this sense is to possess nothing of it really. The life's blood of the whole body of Christian truth has escaped at the wounds made by such arbitrary rejection.

The publisher is to be congratulated on the workmanlike form in which this handsome volume is presented to the reading public.

JOHN LAIDLAW.

Nature, The Supernatural and the Religion of Israel.

*By Josiah Gilbert. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
8vo, pp. xii. 438. Price 9s.*

THE main purpose of this volume appears to be to cut the ground from under the feet of Old Testament Criticism by an *a priori* demonstration of the reasonableness of the supernatural. The writer was of opinion that the strength of criticism lies in the antipathy to the supernatural which is characteristic of our age, and the consequent desire to explain away or minimise the miraculous element in the Bible history. Three-fourths of the book is occupied with a summary of the Scripture narrative, in which Mr Gilbert tries to show that if the principle of the supernatural is frankly accepted and emphasised, the story conveys an impression of historic reality which the higher criticism misses, because it "naturally does not concern itself with large and comprehensive considerations," and "makes no account of that moral congruity which is the surest guide through historical problems." This remarkable verdict on the work of the higher criticism seems to suggest that the author had too slight an acquaintance with the subject to perceive how subordinate a place the question of miracle really holds in the critical argument. The most interesting thing in the book, however, is its endeavour to treat the question of the supernatural from the artistic point of view. It claims to be "the only attempt that has been made to correlate, from the artist's standpoint, the phenomena of nature, the significance of human life, and the supernatural." Nature is regarded as a "spectacle," and human life as a "drama," and the educating influence of both spectacle and drama tends to emphasise the worth of human personality in such a way as to suggest the existence of a higher sphere, in which personality can realise all its capacities. Now if Mr Gilbert had been content to develop this thought; if he had argued that human personality can only be realised in fellowship with the living God who reveals Himself through a series of supernatural acts in history, he would have set the significance of miracles in a truer light than he has succeeded in doing. We do seem to get glimpses of that idea now and then, but it is lost sight of in the working out of the argument. The continuity of the three spheres of Nature, Human Life, and the Supernatural is proved by the recurrence in each of a set of miscellaneous "thoughts," of which the following are selected as examples:—Contrast, Infinity and Limitation, Permanence and Change, Power and Weakness, Action and Repose, Beauty and Ugliness, Joy and Sadness, Life and Death, Good and Evil. Apart from the fact that the analogies are often artificial and arbitrary, it is difficult to

see what all this has to do with personality. The spiritual life of man does not consist in the abundance of such good things as these. It does consist in the knowledge of the true God; and it is just the thought of God that seems to me to be here thrust into the background by the obtrusive presence of a hollow form with empty hands, called the Supernatural. It would leave a false impression of the book to close this notice without saying that, while it just misses being a valuable contribution to apologetics, it contains much that is original and suggestive in detail. It is impossible to read it without entertaining a profound admiration for the character of the deceased author, whose piety, culture, and love of truth are manifest on every page, and whose charity appears in the unfailing courtesy of his references to those whose teaching he felt called upon to oppose.

JOHN SKINNER.

Texte und Untersuchungen, Band ix. Heft 1.

Die edessenische Chronik, mit dem syrischen Text und einer Übersetzung herausgegeben von Ludwig Hallier. Pp. vi. 170.

Die Apologie des Aristides aus dem syrischen übersetzt von Dr Richard Raabe. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. iv., 97. 8vo. Price, M. 8.50.

In the first volume of this Review some account was given of the recently recovered Apology of Aristides. We have now to notice the latest study upon the Apology. In it Dr Raabe, a Syriac scholar, presents us with a careful German rendering, accompanied with critical notes. But the special features of the edition are: (1) The contributions towards the comparative criticism of the text; and (2) the annotations upon the contents, especially the mythological references in which the work abounds. No doubt students of Greek mythology in particular will here find much to interest them. What more concerns the Church historian is the collection of parallels between the ideas of Aristides and those of writers of his own age or tendency, among whom the "Melito" and "Ambrose" of Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum* come in for mention.

As regards the restoration of the original text, Raabe has made very clear the corruption at the end of ch. xiii., where both our authorities stumble, being ignorant, as it seems, of the "physical" type of allegory, which would be a commonplace to an Athenian philosopher of the second century (*cf. Hatch, Hibbert Lectures*, p. 59, ff.) It is probable that the corruption is of long standing. But it was at least worthy of our editor's notice that one of the best MSS. used by Armitage Robinson omits the line containing *φυσικαὶ*

(ἐὶ μὴ . . . θεοὶ εἰσιν), and so yields perfect sense: though this omission may be due to homœoteleuton.

The general question as to the relative originality of our Greek and Syriac recensions is intimately connected with another prime problem of the Apology, viz., the classification adopted as basis of the comparison and contrast between Christianity and other religions. And here Raabe's choice of the Greek threefold division into worshippers of false gods, Jews, Christians, in preference to the Syriac fourfold cross-division into Barbarians and Greeks, Jews and Christians, seems well grounded. For not only does the former agree best with the trichotomy of mankind found in the closely related *Preaching of Peter*; but it also fits the morphology of the Apology as a whole, whereas the Syriac brings in its reference to the Egyptians very awkwardly. These latter, indeed, appear to be the key of the situation. Starting from them, one might go a step beyond Raabe, and suggest that the order, Chaldeans, Greek, Egyptians—the heads under which heathen worshippers are made to fall—is an unnatural one; and that for Chaldeans, Aristides wrote Barbarians. This is exactly the subdivision implied in ch. xii. of the Syriac, even in its present form, and indeed throughout, with the single exception of the summary statement at the end of ch. ii.—a very slight change. It would suit Hellenic usage also: for while Celsus evidently distinguishes the Egyptians from Barbarians, he regards them also as specially ridiculous on account of the animal symbols which they worship (Origen, *c. Cels.*, vi. 80). Hence Aristides, too, might well regard them as peculiarly fitted to form the climax in his catalogue of the follies even of "the wise." If the motive of the change be sought, it lies obviously in the point of view of the Oriental King addressed by the Greek romancer. For to him "Barbarians" would have no sense, unless an insulting one; while the Chaldeans might be regarded as, to his mind, a familiar type of the class of beliefs described. If this view be accepted, we have a fresh criterion as between the Greek and Syriac forms of ch. xiii. Here the Greek text lumps together Egyptian, Chaldeans, and Greeks in a summary criticism; whereas the Syriac, remarking that the Egyptians surpass all in their errors, goes on to express surprise that the Greeks, too, spite of their superior culture, have gone so far astray, and that, too, under the patronage of their "poets and philosophers." It is then noteworthy that towards the end of the chapter (wherein it agrees in substance with the Syriac), the Greek sums up with: "How is it that the wise and learned among the Greeks have not understood that, while they make laws, they (*i.e.*, their mythologies) are condemned by their own laws." Surely this means that the original here appears uneffaced, while in what immediately precedes, Chaldeans and Egyptians are slipped

in where the mention of "their poets" in particular suggests that the Greeks alone are in question.¹

Another point of considerable interest is the attitude of each recension to the Jews. Here the prime contrast lies in the fact that while the Syriac (ch. ii.) twice refers to Christ's birth of Hebrew stock—the term Jews being reserved for less honourable connections, including, "He was pierced by the Jews"—our Greek text has "begotten of a holy virgin" where the former has "of a Hebrew virgin." This, together with the more elaborate description of the act of Incarnation in the Greek, suggests that the Syriac preserves the earlier tone when the "Hebrew" roots of Christianity were not forgotten, and when, spite of the crime of the Crucifixion, the continuity between the more beneficent aspects of Jewish ethics and those of the Christians were as yet frankly recognised. This agrees substantially with Justin's attitude: while the general estimate in the Greek text is at least latently hostile throughout.

Examples like these show how now the one recension, now the other, has the better claim to pass as original, and that, in fact, we must learn and allow for the *motif* at the back of either edition. The limited scope of Raabe's discussions does not allow him to help us here very much. But his brief note on the practical aim of the Syriac version is interesting. In this he traces both the signs of continued polemic against heathenism in the sixth century, and an implicit rebuke to its enfeebled and nominal Christianity by means of the fair vision of primitive piety which is here set before the eyes of the age. If this be so, we may find it all the harder to determine whether certain of its traits are really touches added to the original. There is one aid, however, to the discovery of alterations made by the Greek romancer, which should be used by future editors. This is the study of the theological vocabulary as it appears in the rest of his work. A sample may be given. On a single page (Boissonade, p. 163) occur the following parallels to suspect phrases from the Christological passage (ch. xv.) in our Aristides: *συνεργία τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν, ἁγίας παρθένου, ἀσπόρως . . . ἀφθόρως γεννηθείς.*

On the whole Raabe is inclined to see at the basis of the Syriac—with possible exceptions, like the expanded form of ch. i., in which the Armenian largely coincides—substantially the same text as that before the Greek romancer. Yet, as in so many Syriac versions, the translator has felt free to paraphrase, explain, and even expand his original; so that to the latter process, for instance, some of the additional traits of Christian piety may be due. Further, he even seems to have transposed paragraphs, such as those in ch. ii., dealing

¹ Cf. The trilemma as to the "histories" of the gods which concludes the chapter.

with the "genealogy" of Jews and Christians. These results agree in the main with those of Harnack, who, however, supposes that the archetype of the Syriac and Armenian recensions had been somewhat adjusted to suit Greek susceptibilities; while, on the other hand, the friendlier tone towards the Jews in the Syriac best represents the original.

In counting up our gains from the Apology, this latter feature must not be overlooked. It gives us insight into its author's religious philosophy, and so into that of his circle, which in this respect, as in its natural theology, would seem to have had Hellenistic affinities. Philo's influence on Christian philosophic thought was probably even at this period considerable. There is certainly no little continuity between Hellenistic piety and the Apologist's ideals of the Sovereign God, the holy walk, the future kingdom—all indeed assured, as never before, by the Son of God who has appeared in human flesh. And as a rule the *Epistle to Diognetus* furnishes our most instructive parallels, or contrasts, as the case may be.

The "Edessene Chronicle," or, as its title actually runs, "Narratives of Events in outline," comes down to us in a very ancient Vatican MS., first edited by Assemani in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; and consists of some hundred and six entries, mostly very brief. In the present edition the text has been carefully revised by Professor Guidi, and is furnished not only with a German version and commentary, but also with very thorough prolegomena, setting the document in the light of kindred historical materials, in most cases Syrian like itself. Hallier remarks that since the question of the legendary correspondence between King Abgar and Jesus Christ has been thrashed out, as by Gutschmid in particular, Edessa now interests us mainly through this Chronicle, and the list of its kings given in the Chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahrê, the Monophysite Patriarch of 818-845 A.D. More than half of its contents relate to the affairs of Edessa, and deal with the period from the accession of its first prince (c. 132 B.C.) to the year 540 A.D. (= 851 by Seleucid reckoning). The entries, however, are very sparse till we reach A.D. 202. Its chief topics are the Edessene bishops, saints, church buildings and such like, inundations, &c.

Four problems are discussed in the eighty-three pages of prolegomena. (1.) The relative dependence upon our Chronicle of the *Chronicle* by the Dionysius already named, and the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* by Gregory Bar Hebræus (d. 1286 A.D.); and of these three upon that of Joshua Stylites (c. 507 A.D.). (2.) The exact sources of the Edessene Chronicle. (3.) Its date. (4.) The doctrinal position of its author. As to the first of these, Hallier finds (p. 37) that Dionysius used our Chronicle for the Edessene bishops up to the Nestorian Ibas; that Bar Habræus

derived his statements from it, through the Chronicle of Michael Syrus (c. 1196 A.D.), who seems to have had access to the original; that the element akin to Joshua Stylites in both our Chronicle and Dionysius, seems to go back to an epitome, rather than to the original work. In ascertaining the sources of our Chronicle two main criteria are employed, namely, the distinct systems of chronology and the separate episcopal lists found embedded in its present form. As a result, the stages of growth are set forth as follows:—The backbone of the whole consists of an episcopal list derived from the Church archives, and extending from Koinos (c. 313 A.D.) to the death of Rabbulas (435 A.D.). Besides dates of accession and death, it confined itself to mere references to any building that a bishop may have set on foot. This list was continued by a later hand, writing during the episcopate of Addai (533-43), and drawing also from the same source. Finally, a third hand enriched the whole by the addition of some matter relating to the episcopate of Ibas, at the same time perhaps making other minute changes; and then adopted it as the basis of his Chronicle formed by the addition of matter derived from some three Antiochene sources, as well as from certain Greek Church histories, &c. Thus the chronicler is identical with the final redactor of the episcopal list. The whole argument is worked out with admirable patience and learning; and the same is true of the next point, the time of composition. Former investigators, such as the late Dr W. Wright in the *Encyclop. Brit.*, had assigned it to about 540 A.D., the date indicated by its latest entry. But Hallier's thorough analysis of the sources incorporated by the compiler renders a new discussion necessary. Accordingly, he first fixes the lower limit at 610 A.D., the date when the Persians captured Edessa; and then the superior limit at 570 A.D., on the ground that its distinction between the "old" church in Edessa and the "new," built by Amazonius, bishop about the time of the fifth œcumenical council (553), is unknown, even to a Syrian like John of Ephesus, writing about 569 A.D. Further, the title "Chrysostom," applied to John of Constantinople without any explanation, cannot be paralleled before the very end of the sixth century. On the ground, then, of its occurrence in our Chronicle, the editor is disposed to bring down the latter well to the end of that century, a date which finds support in the peculiar doctrinal attitude of the chronicler. He seems, that is, to be an upholder of the theology of Chalcedon, yet with distinct Nestorian leanings, especially in favour of the persons of the great Antiochenes, Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, in contrast to the Monophysite prelates, who, since the death of Nonnus (471), seem to have been in power in Edessa as throughout the East as a whole. Already Assemani had noted that he breaks off

just "*ubi Pastores Jacobitæ Ecclesiam illam invadere cœperunt.*" Following up this hint, Hallier points to his summary remark that "the monk Eutyches denied the Incarnation" (No. liii.), as also to his anti-Augustinian view of sin (No. lv.), upon which Nestorians were most emphatic. But how, he asks, could such a man refer as sympathetically as he does to the Emperor Justinian? By way of answer he proceeds to trace the prevalence of Monophysite sentiment in the Edessene bishops after Nonnus, in spite of no little imperial persecution; and shows that under Justinian, on the other hand, Nestorian sympathies revived for a time at least, for instance in Addai, although he fell in 543 under the Monophysite influence of the Empress Theodora. But of this not a word in our Chronicle, nor of the disloyalty of Amazonius, his successor, to the three great Antiochenes at the Council of 553. His main interest, then, being his anti-Monophysitism, it is intelligible how he can view Justinian mainly in the light of his earlier anti-Origenistic demonstration, as well as of his consistent advocacy of Chalcedon, apart from the censure of the Antiochene theologians into which he allowed himself to be betrayed. Thus considered, according to his general spirit rather than the tendency of a single act, Justinian might well appear a welcome contrast to his predecessor, Anastasius, and his thoroughgoing undermining of Chalcedon. So our chronicler, for the sake of "the good cause," then and still threatened by Monophysitism, puts up with the wrong done to men whom he reveres, and finds it in his heart to be grateful to the great emperor, whose ecclesiastical policy was, moreover, free from the violence of an Anastasius.

In complicated questions such as these, it is hardly given to an author to fully establish his positions throughout. But Hallier deserves to succeed, and his discussions certainly cast light upon the theological relations of the fifth and sixth centuries, even though the theology of the period be marked by pathological rather than normal development. Incidentally, too, he adds definiteness to our views of Edessene Christianity, which, with much probability, he carries back well into the second century on the basis of Eusebius (H. E. V. 23, 4); though his assumption that the same writer's reference to the "archives" or "public records" of Edessa concerns the Church archives, seems more than doubtful (*ib.* i. 13). Still, as he is able to give us the names of Palut, Abselâma, and Barsamya, as belonging to predecessors of Koinos, the bishop who built the church at Edessa when once the edict of toleration allowed (c. 313), there is no reason to doubt that the Church archives went back to about the same date. The ecclesiastical historian ought cordially to recognise the value of the notes and illustrations which our editor's diligence has added to the statements of the

Chronicle itself; while, after all, we are constantly learning the indirect value of chronological data, which time and again serve to settle some point of far greater moment than those with which they were originally associated.

VERNON BARTLET.

Some Australian Sermons.

*By John W. Owen, B.A. (Oxon.). London: Elliott Stock.
Pp. 217.*

ONE cannot but admire the frank and independent character of these thirty-nine Australian Sermons. The author appears to belong to the Church of England, but he is no stickler for ecclesiastical shibboleths. He recognises that in the "one flock" of Christ there may be many folds, and he scouts the idea of unchurching all who are outside the Greek, the Roman, and the Anglican folds. "A visible church on earth reduced to one dead level of uniformity" is to him a "dreamy superstructure." The author is careful to base his sermons on a painstaking and independent exegesis; but I cannot say the result is always satisfactory. *E.g.*, the words rendered "I am meek and lowly in heart" should, according to him, be rendered, "I am meek and easily accessible to heart . . . easily accessible to our hearts—to our feelings and intelligence"! But Mr Owen does not rate his own work high. "I only know I have studied and earnestly pondered over the words and tried to catch their sense, until I have seemed to see their meaning more clearly and, as in duty bound, I offer the result of my work to your attention. It can do you no harm: it may—even if it only serve to expose my errors—do you good." These sermons might well have been more luminous, but they could hardly have been more earnestly practical. And it would have been a gain to any reader to have them printed more distinctly and on less crowded pages.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

Man's Great Charter.

An Exposition of the First Chapter of Genesis. By Frederick Ernest Coggin, M.A., late Exhibitioner of St John's College, Cambridge. London: James Nisbet & Co. Pp. 210. Price 3s. 6d.

MR COGGIN'S attempt to read the opening chapter of the Bible in the light of the conclusions of modern science is exceedingly ingenious but not convincing. He calls in aid from a wide range of

scientific reading. He applies himself with unwearying industry to the study of the Hebrew text. He searches far and near for parallels and analogies in Scripture usage. He protests loudly against the indolent practice of allowing words to obscure things, and often reminds us that even at the best words are poor exponents of thought. And certainly, if Mr Coggin's contentions are valid, it would be difficult to conceive poorer exponents than some of the words with which he deals. The marvel is that with such exponents he has been able to find the thought. "Day is not a time-word, but stands for that state or those laws of existence by means of which anything is what it is." "Each of the six days is a distinct portion of the work, each is an effulgence of the whole light of creation, each is the cause, basis and medium, the formative and energising *idea* of a whole department of this world." Does this apply to the seventh day? Admittedly not. Or to the day of v. 16? The "waters" of v. 2 are to be taken as "the formless mass of undifferentiated world-making material"; but in v. 9 "words begin to assume their common specific significance." From "the heaven and the earth" denoting in v. 1 "the whole material constituents of the universe," we pass to "heaven" as the firmament in v. 8, "the medium of all the benefits dispensed by the sun, moon, and stars." Even the interesting attempt to find in the use of *ברא* a recognition of the great stages in the evolution of the earth and its occupants animate and inanimate, treats the gulf which separates the inorganic from the organic as of comparatively slight importance. *Non tali auxilio* is the "devotional" use of Genesis likely to be helped. Ingenuity is not conducive to devotion. The task of reconciling Genesis and science may be deferred until science has reached more definite results.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

A Cyclopædic Dictionary of the Mang'anga Language Spoken in British Central Africa.

*By the Rev. David Clement Scott, B.D., F.R.S.G.S., Church of
Scotland, Blantyre. Edinburgh, 1892.*

THIS is a Dictionary, and very much more. Its 737 double-columned pages are rich in philological and ethnological interest. The student of folk-lore especially will find in it a feast of fat things. An intelligent study of its contents will do more than many a popular book of travel to set before us the panorama of African daily life, and at least as much as any Foreign Mission Report to awaken and stimulate enthusiasm in the spread of Christian civilisation.

An introductory treatise of twenty-four pages supplies a guide to the use of the volume. It includes a grammar, which is new and of great interest, both in its general character and in its analogies. It provides, also, a tabular scheme of the language "from which," the author claims, "it may be learnt." In the dictionary proper each important word discussed is accompanied by sentences intended to show its application and various shades of meaning, and is followed by notes in small type which give, mostly at first-hand, an account of native custom, industry, relationship, belief, superstition, amusement, song, or proverb, as the case may be. Thus, for instance, a complete statement of the conception of Deity will be found under the native name, MULUNGU, the name itself being learned by reference to an English index at the end of the book. There are cross references besides to a host of other words of cognate meaning and derivation.

We understand that the preparation of this Dictionary has been accomplished at the cost of eight years' continuous and self-sacrificing labour. That will be readily understood by anybody who takes the volume into his hands. But Mr Scott has the reward of knowing that his labour has not only added a valuable contribution to the general stock of knowledge, but has immensely simplified the task of translating the Scriptures into the large group of Bantu dialects of which the Mang'anga is the foremost representative. His Dictionary is a monument of scholarship, insight, and Christian zeal.

GEORGE MACKENZIE.

Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana.

Tischreden Luther's und Aussprüche Melanths, hauptsächlich nach Aufzeichnungen des Johannes Mathesius. Aus der Nürnberger Handschrift des Germanischen Museums mit Benutzung von Dr Joh. Karl Seidemann's Vorarbeiten herausgegeben und erläutert von Georg Loesche, Doktor der Theologie und Philosophie, K. K. o. ö. Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Wien. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 8vo, pp. 440.

(Luther's Table-Talk and Sayings of Melancthon, as noted by Joh. Mathesius, from a MS. in the Germanic Museum, Nürnberg, with the help of Dr J. K. Seidemann's preparatory investigations, published and elucidated by Georg Loesche, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Vienna.)

It is somewhat remarkable that up to the present date no one—not even among German scholars—has yet succeeded in producing a critically satisfactory text of Luther's Colloquies. The task,
Vol. III.—No. 3. x

however, is not an easy one; for the MSS. vary so greatly, that, as Dr Loesche says, the problem to be solved surpasses that of the synoptic gospels in perplexity. Indeed, it can scarcely be said to have been properly grappled till some twenty years ago, when Dr Joh. Karl Seidemann issued the true, though modern, parole, "Back to the Sources." He died, however, long ere the wearisome task was completed.

Dr Loesche has worthily entered into his labours, and that under the following circumstances. In the course of investigations, undertaken in the interest of a life of Mathesius, a convert and contemporary of Luther, and eminent in his day, both as an educationist, a preacher, a hymn-writer, and as a biographer of the great Reformer, Dr Loesche found it necessary to examine a MS. preserved in the Germanic Museum at Nürnberg, with the title, "*Excerpta haeec omnia in Mensa ex ore D. Ma: Lutherj, Anno Domini 1540,*" and containing 529 sayings of Luther's, besides 137 of Melanchthon. Though not in the handwriting of Mathesius, and comprising sayings extending over the years 1531 to 1545, many of which, therefore, could not have been spoken in his hearing, Dr Loesche has made it, to say the least, exceedingly probable that the collection is to be traced back to him. In his own "*Historien von Luther's Anfang, Lehre, Leben, standhaftem Bekenntniss seines Glaubens und Sterbens,*" published at Nürnberg in 1570 (republished in 1806), he gives the following graphic account of his life "alongside of the princes of God's people and Church." "By the intervention of Dr Justus Jonas and Magister Georg Rörers, God sent me to Dr Luther's table, for which I shall thank Him and those who aided me all the days of my life. What I there heard and saw I have carefully noted. I have added besides sayings that were written down by other boarders." After mentioning their names, and adding appropriate remarks, he goes on to say, "Although our Doctor frequently came to table burdened with grave and profound questions, and sometimes kept his old monastic silence during the whole meal, at other times he was so lively that we styled his words *condimenta mensae*, and enjoyed them more than the finest spices and dishes. When he wanted any of us to speak, he would ask, 'What news is there?' Usually the question, when first put, was left unanswered. Then he asked again, 'Now, you prelates, what is there new in the country?' Whereupon the elder of the company began to speak. (Mathesius was in his thirty-sixth year.) Dr Wolf Severus, for example, who sat at the head of the table, if there was no stranger present, being a travelled courtier, set the ball a rolling. As soon as the conversation was well under way—and it was carried on with due gravity and respect—others joined in, and, last of all, the Doctor himself spoke. Frequently we laid before him Biblical

problems, which he succinctly solved. It was quite to his mind, too, when we raised objections, which he skilfully refuted. Men of position in the University, and from other places also, often joined us; and then good stories were told, and points debated."

The time, patience, and labour spent by Dr Loesche on his edition must have been enormous. One can scarcely help answering the question he himself raises, whether the play is worth the candle? in the negative. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that the result, though, as experts have already pointed out, not without its defects, is a more satisfactory, complete, and convenient edition of Luther's "Table-Talk" than has hitherto appeared. After all, too, a work of this kind is of some importance, in view of the utterly discreditable tactics to which Roman Catholic writers are now resorting with regard to the words and character of Luther.

In the elaborate introduction the editor gives an account of the labours of Seidemann, whose MSS. were entrusted to him by the commission engaged on a new edition of Luther's entire works; then of the origin, condition, and value of the Nürnberg MS.; further, of the principles followed in the preparation of his edition, &c.; and adds finally a list of the parallel texts. Unusually ample indexes of the headings of Luther's and Melancthon's sayings; of the persons and places mentioned; of the subjects, in alphabetical order; and of the Biblical passages touched, close the work. The edition includes 189 hitherto unprinted fragments of Luther's "Table-Talk," besides 137 of Melancthon's sayings.

As Dr Loesche remarks, seeing that both Luther and Melancthon were in the habit of speaking in brass (*messingisch*), that is, mixing up Latin and German, both at home and in their lectures, no text that is exclusively Latin or German, still less a translation, can convey a true impression of the conversations whose fragments have been recorded. Following Seidemann's example, therefore, he has printed the original text as he found it, with only such verbal and other corrections and annotations as were indispensable. The latter, however, embody an enormous amount of laborious investigation.

A fair idea of this linguistic amalgam may be got from the following specimens. The first is interesting, also, as a bit of autobiography: "*Diversissima ingenia habent Philippus et Lutherus quae tamen summa concordia maxima effecerunt. Respondet D.: In actis Apostolorum habetis nostram picturam. Jacobus denotat Philippum qui libenter sua modestia volebat legem retinere; Petrus me, qui perrumpebat: 'Quid oneratis?' Ita Ph. in charitate, ego in fide procedo. Ph. lest (lässt) siech (sich) fressen, ich fres alles undt schon niemandts. Et ita Deus diversis operatur. Ph. nimis est modestus, cujus modestia papistae tantum inflammantur: qui vult ex charitate omnibus servire. Kemen mir die papisten also, ich*"

wollt sie wol stauchen." Concerning his opponent Eck, he said once, "Die haben mich gelert gemacht. Ich kans umb den Eck nit verdienen, was er mich gelert hatt; und der Pabst kan in nicht genug straffenn; den er hat das schieff verforet. Si ego essem papa, donarem Eccium pileo cardinaliceo et ipsum statim comburerem."

Some of Melanchthon's sayings, here communicated, tend to confirm the tradition that his wife was rather difficult to get on with. "Mulier est ecclesia. Muliebre genus est πολυπραγματικὸν genus; der ein Weib nimpt, der nimpt ein ganntze Nachbarschaft. Nam etiam placidae mulieres tamen habent aliquas, eine (or einer) der sie klagtt. Maledicunt in familiis, servis, ancillis. Igitur dictum est, tempestas in aedibus mulier" (Menander, from whom this saying is quoted, adds *κακῇ*, which Melanchthon significantly omits); "ist also, undt wir werdens alle yunen. So ist ecclesia; sagts ihren Nachbarn, gaudet, cum videt homines converti; est sollicita, praedicat et vocat multos ad poenitentiam."

The human side of the two great Reformers is abundantly, sometimes very curiously, not to say puzzlingly, revealed in their table-talk.

To all concerned, Dr Loesche's edition may be strongly recommended, both for its general get-up, and for its thoroughly scholarly character. In this latter respect it deserves to be taken as a pattern by editors generally.

D. W. SIMON.

Albrecht Ritschls Leben.

Dargestellt von Otto Ritschl. Erster Band. 1822-64. Freiburg, i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. vii. 456. Price, M. 10. Bound, M. 12.

THERE can be no doubt that all students of contemporary theology will heartily welcome this volume, the first instalment of a biography of Ritschl. The author, himself a professor of theology, has conceived in a clear and masterly fashion what the aim of his work ought to be. And so, while giving a very elaborate survey of his father's life as a whole, within the period embraced in this volume, he makes all the details contribute towards a vivid and impressive picture of the theological and religious development of one who, by means of his strong personality, his freedom of judgment, and his intense concentration on his chosen study, originated a new movement in the theology of Germany, which is constantly making way through the attractiveness of its chief positions and the enthusiasm and earnestness of its leading exponents. Throughout the book Professor Ritschl displays the impartiality of the trained student of history. He is in thorough sympathy with his father's point of

view, but never treats his readers to that wearisome and unmeaning adulation which mars so many biographies. The style is admirable, often possessing real literary power, always graphic, terse, and concentrated. The one fault, perhaps, is that too much has been included. Ritschl was an indefatigable correspondent. Numerous letters have been preserved. It could not fail to be difficult to make a suitable selection, for in every letter there is some point of interest. But a considerable number of those which appear might have been omitted without weakening our general impression of the man.

The son of Bishop Carl Ritschl, General-Superintendent of Pomerania, Albrecht Ritschl was born in 1822. On leaving the Gymnasium at Stettin as its most distinguished pupil, he seems to have had no hesitation in choosing theology as his line of study. "I was impelled," he says (p. 18), "to the study of theology by a speculative bias, a wish to comprehend the highest."

The fame of Nitzsch was the main reason which led him, in 1839, to enter the University of Bonn. This theologian, belonging, as he did, to the school which made it their aim to mediate between the Christian faith and the scientific culture of their day, exercised, for a time, a powerful influence on Ritschl's earnest, unprejudiced, and yet thoroughly critical mind. Frequent discussions, however, with student friends at Bonn, and especially with some ardent disciples of Hengstenberg, set his mind in a ferment. He felt that the extreme orthodoxy of the latter was really the strict logical consequence of his own position; and yet he could not follow Hengstenberg. He now became eager to reach some clearness and stability, both in his religious convictions and theological speculations, and the hope of this induced him to leave Bonn for Halle, where the names of Tholuck, Julius Müller, and Erdmann were a powerful attraction. At Halle his strong philosophical interest was thoroughly roused by Erdmann. Soon he was won over to Hegelianism, although, apparently from the first, he did not completely adopt its standpoint. It became rather the form of his thinking than the essence. For all along, he adhered resolutely to the "ethical kernel" of his own view of the universe.

For a time he was on intimate terms both with Tholuck and Müller. Gradually he grew dissatisfied with their teaching, and the intimacy cooled. His estimate of Tholuck is worth quoting: "Tholuck is scientifically incommensurable. . . . The one fixed thing in him is his subjectivity, which, in many respects, is worthy of love and esteem, but which in science is only arbitrary and eclectic, and has no fixed point of unity, even in its negative position, towards the other scientific movements of the present" (p. 52).

At this stage in his course, Baur's "*Lehre von der Versöhnung*"

made an epoch in his theological convictions. While thoroughly satisfying his Hegelian standpoint, it gave him, he says, his first clear conception of history, and also taught him the meaning of "Dogmengeschichte," afterwards to be his favourite study. But towards the end of his student life at Halle he is still striving after a rounded-off theory of the world.

In view of his subsequent virtual identification of the conception of God's righteousness in both Old Testament and New Testament with that of his grace, which forms so important a part of his system, it is interesting to find Ritschl, in some sermons belonging to this early time, emphasising the idea that not the righteousness but the kindness of God distributes His gifts, and that so we are to discern in all the ordinances of life the guidance of the divine love.

After taking his doctor's degree, he left Halle for Heidelberg. But his thoughts turned towards Tübingen, where he hoped, through intercourse with Baur, to whose work he owed so much, to have his theological interest still further quickened, and to obtain guidance for the direction of his speculations. Baur and his colleagues received him courteously, but he never reached a close intimacy with them. Want of space compels us to hurry over many important matters, including the publication of his first work, "Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lucas," in which he attempts to derive "Luke" from Marcion's "Gospel," to the beginning of his academic career as privat-docent at Bonn in 1846. A careful study of the New Testament in preparation for his lectures, led him in his first teaching semester to distrust the Tübingen theology.

Always independent, the germs of his own theological system have now begun to take shape in his mind. In the first sermon which he preached at Bonn, he insists that all goodness and love in the world lead back to the *Person of Christ* as their foundation, who is the Son and image of the Father, and whose deepest essence is intelligible not to the understanding, but only to that love which springs from Himself.

His reputation was greatly increased by the appearance in 1849 of his "Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche." While still depending on Baur for his method of stating the problem, his growing opposition to the Tübingen school is seen in his leading idea that the origin of Catholicism is to be traced back, neither to a Jewish-Christian basis (with Schweigler), nor to the balanced force of Pauline and Jewish-Christian influences (as later with Baur), but merely to a Pauline foundation.

He had already begun to lecture on "Dogmengeschichte," and yet, in spite of his careful work, he had few students. After being

appointed "Professor Extraordinarius" in 1852, he gave himself heart and soul to the study of dogmatic theology. As he found himself unable to follow any former theologian in this department, he was compelled to work on new lines. As the result of his ever-growing inner reaction against the Hegelian view of the universe, he was led to make his dogmatic system revolve round the historically-given revelation of Christianity. "To conceive the Person of Christ," he says, "to ground its aspect in the necessary concepts of God, the world, man, is the chief theological problem of the Church of our time. . . . The theological starting-point for understanding the Person of the Redeemer is the historical aspect of Christ, who perfectly represents the fundamental religious relation between God and man" (p. 237). Here there is put into our hands the key to the Ritschlian position, especially as that position is worked out by its leading exponents at the present time. Thus Herrmann distinctly asserts that theology should have for its subject-matter "the meaning and the eternal claims of a historical Power." In a review which appeared in 1855, Ritschl showed himself an out-and-out opponent of the Tübingen school. This occasioned the final breach of his intimacy with Baur. As a natural consequence, Ritschl was able to say of the new edition of the "*Entstehung*" (1857): "It is *toto caelo* separated from the first edition."

At this time he began a special course of study on the doctrine of Justification and the Atonement with the view of writing upon it, devoting minute attention, in the first place, to Osiander's doctrine (pp. 313-342). In 1859 came his marriage and appointment as "ordinary" professor.

Still pursuing unremittingly his investigation of the doctrines named above, he states, in an article published in 1860, the conclusion he has reached after an examination of the scholastic and Protestant teaching on these doctrines. This is, that, seeing the unbiblical notions of the satisfaction and merit of Christ are theologically insufficient, there is need of a new, biblically-regulated construction of the doctrine of the Work of Christ, whose indispensable prelude must be a criticism of those notions, and in which the main point will be to set forth the perfect obedience of Christ under the standpoint of the moral obligation of His calling. In the midst of these elaborate preparations for a scientific reconstruction of the Atonement-doctrines he was called to the University of Göttingen to succeed Dorner, who had gone to Berlin. The present volume concludes with his removal to his new sphere of work in the year 1864.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, and On the Will in Nature.

Two Essays by Arthur Schopenhauer. Translated by Mme. Karl Hillebrand. Pp. xxviii. 380. Selected Essays of Arthur Schopenhauer, with a Biographical Introduction and Sketch of his Philosophy. By Ernest Belfort Bax. Pp. liii. 359. London: Bell & Sons. Price 5s. each.

THE first of these volumes contains Schopenhauer's earliest publication, written in his twenty-sixth year, for his doctor's examination; —a dissertation which, as he says himself, "became the substructure for the whole of my system;" and another essay, consisting of "corroborations of the author's philosophy received from the empirical sciences." The second volume consists of selections from a work in two volumes, entitled "*Parerga und Paralipomena*," supposed to be fitted to "meet the taste alike of him that is specially interested in philosophy and of the 'general reader';" with an introductory account of Schopenhauer's life and philosophy. Among the subjects are, Sketch of a History of the Doctrine of the Ideal and Real; Fragments of the History of Philosophy; Some Words on Pantheism; Immortality; Suicide; Metaphysics of the Beautiful and on Aesthetics: Women.

Mr Bax's sketch gives as good an idea of the man and his system as could well be compressed into the space allotted to it. No effort is made to white-wash the philosopher, because of his philosophical and literary merits. This is satisfactory, for, as a man, Schopenhauer was egotistical, vain, cross-grained. A characteristic anecdote, not recorded by Mr Bax, tells how one day he informed his fellow-diners at the hotel which he frequented, with great glee, that his poodle having misbehaved, he had scoldingly addressed it *Du Mensch* (You Human!), and that the dog had slunk away quite ashamed; but that when one of the company replied, "Then, I suppose, Herr Doctor, when we wish to please you, we must address you, *Du Hund* (You Hound!)," the Herr Doctor was greatly enraged. Mr Bax, however, should not have confounded *Privat-docent* with *Professor extraordinarius* (p. xviii.); nor have allowed "*Litterateur-Zeitung*" to pass for "*Litteratur-Zeitung*." Any one desirous of enriching his vocabulary with opprobrious epithets for philosophers by profession and women, may be referred to these two volumes.

The most important of the essays is that on "The Fourfold Root," etc. Adequately to estimate it, one needs to go back to Kant, whose discussion of the categories was the author's point of departure. But the following brief account may convey an idea of its scope. By the principle of sufficient reason is meant, of course,

that "nothing is without a reason for its being." Two distinct applications of this principle Schopenhauer found already recognised, namely, to *judgments*, which, in order to being true, must have a reason; and to *changes* in material objects, which must have a cause. But, besides these, there are also mathematical applications, as, for example, when it is asked, "Why are three sides of this triangle equal?" and the answer is given, "Because the three angles are equal;" or in the "law of motivation," namely, the law that motives cause actions. He accordingly distinguishes a fourfold necessity, in conformity with the four forms of the principle of sufficient reason, namely, Logical, Physical, Mathematical, and Moral necessity. To the establishment of the distinction between these four forms and of the fact that there are only four, the treatise in question is devoted. For a young beginner of twenty-six, a remarkable enough production,—full, however, of disagreeable touches characteristic of the man.

The rest of the contents may be regarded as introductions and additions to, or modifications of, various parts of his great work, "The World as Will and Representation" (or, as Mr Bax translates, Presentment), the practical outcome of which is that the "final solution of the problem of life is to be found not in æsthetics, nor in ethics, but in asceticism; and that self-starvation, the abstention from all action on one's own behalf tending to preserve life, is the highest expression of ascetic morality." What name does an Epicurean preaching a doctrine like this deserve?—Charlatan; and his so-called philosophy is *charlatanerie*.

Mr Bax's critical remarks on Schopenhauer's System would have had more force, had he taken his stand on Christianity with its well-grounded assurance that,

"All is right that seems most wrong
If it be God's good will."

So far as I can judge, without having the German for comparison, the translations seem well done; and those who are interested in philosophy, whether they read German or not, will be grateful to the publishers for these additions to their valuable "libraries."

D. W. SIMON.

Notices.

CANON CHEYNE'S *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*¹ is a remarkably interesting book, so pleasantly written that it reads like a

¹ *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, Biographical, Descriptive, and Critical Studies. By T. K. Cheyne, D.D. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 372. Price 7s. 6d.

tale, and withal full of instructive matter. It is a defence of the literary criticism of the Old Testament in the form of a history of the critical movement, and the history is biographical. Beginning with some reference to the influence of the English Deists, and with some account of the three English scholars, Warburton, Lowth, and Geddes, Professor Cheyne takes up Eichhorn, whom he regards as in the most proper sense the founder of modern Old Testament criticism, and gives a series of portraits of the great scholars from the end of the eighteenth century on to the present day. These sketches are, for the most part, done with great skill; some of them eminently so. They are accompanied by critical estimates of the men and their works. This gives a double interest to the book. Professor Cheyne's estimates are characteristically his own. They may not obtain universal assent in every case; but it is always worth while to get them, and one cannot read them without profit. The last three chapters are given to the scholars of our own time, Canon Driver being dealt with at greatest length. These chapters will attract special attention. They omit no one who has any claim to consideration, and they are not lacking in generous and sympathetic regard for men of very different types. The simple statement of facts which the book gives, and its attractive pictures of the men, should do much to dispel inveterate prejudice and disarm unworthy fears with respect to criticism and the critics.

Something of the same ground is traversed by Dr Briggs in his volume on the *Hexateuch*,¹ and it is instructive to compare the American and the Oxford estimates of the great critics. Dr Briggs, however, includes more than Professor Cheyne, and begins farther back. He first defines the problem with which the higher criticism of the Mosaic books is concerned, and gives a summary of the testimony of Scripture itself, both Old Testament and New, to the issues involved in that problem. He next states the *Traditional Theories*,—the Rabbinical ideas, the views of the Fathers, and the position of the Reformers. Having done this, he proceeds to sketch the *Rise of Criticism*, and the progress of the critical movement on to the present day. In this he takes us back to Carlstadt, Masius, Hobbes, Pyrerius, Spinoza, Richard Simon, Witsius, Vitranga, and others, who, in one way or another, did pioneer work. He then goes on to examine more particularly the critical theories which have had their day—the Documentary Hypothesis, the Fragmentary, the Supplementary, the Development, as well as the more recent discussions connected with the names of Robertson

¹ *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch.* By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 259. Price 6s. 6d.

Smith, Dillmann, Baudissin, Delitzsch, Cornill, Driver. The closing chapter contains a careful summary of the entire argument. The conclusions as put by Dr Briggs are these—that we have a fourfold narrative of the origin of the old covenant religion; that the Pentateuch gives us not a single Mosaic code, but several codes of Mosaic legislation; that the Mosaic legislation was delivered through Moses, and then “unfolded in historical usage and interpretation in a series of codifications by inspired prophets and priests . . . in several stages of advancement in the historical life and experience of Israel from the conquest to the exile”; that “Law and Prophecy are not two distinct and separate modes of revelation, but the same”; and that there is in the Law, as in the Gospel, “a divine transforming power, which shaped the history of Israel, as the Gospel has shaped the history of the Church in successive stages of appropriation.” The criticism of the more important theories, and the analysis of the literature, cover the essential points, and are always definite and distinct. As against Wellhausen and his school, Dr Briggs defends the historicity of the laws and narratives which are contained in the Hexateuch.

There is some vigorous writing in the *Hulsean Lectures for 1892-93*,¹ with occasional eccentricities of style. There is also much with which one can cordially sympathise in Mr Heard's laudation of the Alexandrian theology, and in the claim which he again puts in for attention to the Eastern system of religious thought. But the edge is taken from his defence of the Greek theology by his extreme depreciation of the Latin or African theology. Nor is it only a question of preference as between a highly speculative and a stringently legal or forensic construction of the Christian verities. With Mr Heard it amounts to an incapacity not only to do justice to men of the rank of Augustine and Tertullian, but to understand Paul. The Divine Sovereignty and related doctrines, as they have been found in Paul's Epistles by the greatest thinkers and the men of profoundest religious experience all along the ages, are neither according to Mr Heard's idea nor are really taught by Paul, as he thinks. In this Mr Heard has against him not only the great Latin divines, and many more, but the ablest and most impartial exegetes. But while the argument is greatly overdriven, the book is of value, not only for its more than sympathetic representation of Origen and other prominent theologians of the Greek school, but for what it has to say on the subject of dogma generally, and on the respective merits and defects of the two chief types of early dogmatic Christianity.

¹ *Alexandrian and Carthaginian Theology Contrasted*. By Rev. J. B. Heard, A.M. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 362. Price 6s.

Archdeacon Farrar's unwearied pen contributes the volume on *First Kings* in the *Expositor's Bible*¹ series. The book opens with a spirited defence of the rights and utilities of the higher criticism. Chapters follow which deal with introductory questions concerning the composition of the narratives, the historian, and the action of God in history. These contain much that is to the purpose, and that is expressed with the writer's usual force. The exposition proper falls into three convenient sections, *David and Solomon*, *The Divided Kingdom*, *Ahab and Elijah*. The book abounds in vivid, descriptive passages, among which may be specially noticed those on *David's Death-bed*, *Elijah on Mount Carmel*, and *Naboth's Vineyard*. A brief note is added on the chronology of the book. The opening chapters give a very fair and readable account of the materials used in compiling the book, the criteria of difference in the sources, the state of the text, the object and method of the compiler or epitomiser, and the problems he had in view in constructing his narrative.

The volume on *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther*,² in the same series, comes from the hand of Professor W. F. Adeney, of New College, London. Though it does not aim at Archdeacon Farrar's rush and eloquence, its style is clear and forcible. We feel that there is competent knowledge behind all that is said. It is a careful and informing study of the books and of the period. With respect to the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, Professor Adeney begins by calling attention to the fact that the main history recorded in them is "fixed securely above the reach of adverse criticism," and that some guarantee for its authenticity may be found in what he calls the "curiously inartistic process adopted by the writer." He agrees with many more in concluding that the compiler of our Ezra-Nehemiah was in all probability the compiler of Chronicles; and deals very carefully with the question of the period to which the moulding of the Law into its present shape is to be referred. The importance of these times, as times of national revival and religious construction, and the curious interest of the events belonging to what he terms the "watershed of Hebrew history," are made to grow on the reader as the exposition proceeds. The objections raised against the book of Esther are fairly considered, and so far answered, although the general conclusion is not in favour of putting it on an equality with the "more choice utterances of the Old Testament literature."

Oxford and Cambridge send each a book of Aids to the Study of Holy Scripture. These volumes have been long looked for. They have the common object of placing the best results of recent scholar-

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. 503. Price 7s. 6d.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 404. Price 7s. 6d.

ship and discovery at the disposal of the English reader, and they both enlist some of our foremost authorities in the preparation of the material which they furnish ; otherwise, they differ greatly. The Oxford volume¹ is conservative on all questions of criticism. The least satisfactory portion of it is its account of the Old Testament books, which keeps in the main by the traditional view, and is halting and indeterminate even when it deals with books like Ecclesiastes. Its distinctive feature is its numerous admirably drawn and most informing facsimiles, in the selection and preparation of which Dr E. Maunde Thompson, Dr A. S. Murray, and Dr E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum have given invaluable help. It has the advantage also of excellent type, and some very scholarly papers. The sections on the *Precious Stones* of the Bible, its *Botany*, its *Music and Musical Instruments*, its *Obsolete and Ambiguous Words*, its *Antiquities and Customs*, have passed under the hand of men like Mr Fletcher and Mr Carruthers of the British Museum, Dr Skeat and Dr Budge, and will be found of great use. The Cambridge volume² is liberal on questions of criticism, and aims at setting fully and impartially before its readers the conclusions of specialists in these matters. It brings the account of the literary history of the Bible books up to date, engaging for this purpose the services of scholars like the Bishop of Worcester, Professors Lumby, Ryle, and A. B. Davidson. It offers also papers of great worth on the *Sacred Books of Præ-Christian Religions*, the *Nations Surrounding Israel*, the *History of the Apostolic Age*, the *Jewish People*, the *Roman Empire*, and the *Greek World in the Apostolic Age*, the *Arts, Calendar, Coinage*, &c., by Bishop Westcott, Professors Robertson Smith, Armitage Robinson, Gwatkin, and Mr Bevan, not to mention others. An edition with a larger type is much to be desired. The minuteness of the print, clear though it is, is a drawback to a book in which the matter is of the first quality.

Dr Alexander Whyte's *Bunyan Characters*³ is, we trust, only the first of a series of volumes on this subject and kindred subjects. It would be difficult to point to any one among us so peculiarly qualified by sympathy, enthusiasm, experience, and lifelong study, to expound John Bunyan. Starting from Butler's idea of character and the moral life, Dr Whyte takes us into the heart of the glorious dreamer's world, with its wonderful procession of Evangelists and

¹ Helps to the Study of the Bible. Oxford : printed at the University Press. London : Henry Frowde. 8vo, pp. xl. 636. Price 4s. 6d.

² The Cambridge Companion to the Bible. Cambridge : at the University Press. London : C. J. Clay & Sons. 8vo, pp. xii. 412. Price 3s. 6d.

³ Bunyan Characters. Lectures delivered in St George's Free Church, Edinburgh. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 8vo, pp. 281. Price 2s. 6d.

Interpreters, Obstinates and Pliables, Goodwills, Formalists, Mis-trusts, and Talkatives. All is given in terse, pointed discourse, with many a choice phrase, and with what is better far—an insight into human nature and divine grace which yields words that go home to conscience.

One of the most remarkable publications of the quarter is Mr Howie's book on *The Churches and the Churchless*.¹ It is less a book for review than for prolonged study and frequent reference. Its elaborate tables, thirty-nine in number, with their vast columns of figures, are the witnesses to an astonishing industry. They give statements of the population of Scotland at different periods, the number of congregations and members belonging to the Scottish Churches, the rate of increase or decrease per thousand between 1879 and 1891, the average incomes of the clergy and contributions of the people, the average number of rooms per hundred houses in towns, and many things else which tell their own story to the initiated. The utmost pains are taken to reach a correct idea of the number of persons connected with the different Churches, and the number that must be written down as outside all the Churches. With this view four distinct estimates are made, and the resistless logic of figures makes it plain enough that principles of reckoning which have been in favour are delusive. The *Introductory Statement*, in which the object, plan, and main results of the inquiry are explained, is of great interest. Mr Howie has laid all the Churches, and men of all creeds, who desire the moral and religious well-being of Scotland, under heavy obligation by this book. Whatever criticism it may, on searching examination, be found open to, it demands the attention of the Scottish people, and lays bare a condition of things which cannot be disregarded.

Dr Hatch's famous Hibbert Lectures appear in a German translation, with some additional matter by Professor Harnack.² The first part of a new critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament³ comes to hand. The object of the work is to exhibit the reconstructed text on the basis of which the new translation projected by Professor Paul Haupt, of the John Hopkins University, is to be carried out. This part embraces the Book of Job, and is done by Professor Siegfried. It is beautifully printed. What the

¹ *The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland. Facts and Figures.* By Rev. Robert Howie, M.A. Glasgow: David Bryce & Son. Royal 4to, pp. 121. Price 7s. 6d. net.

² *Griechenthum und Christenthum, &c.* Von Edwin Hatch, Dr. theol. Deutsch von Erwin Preuschen. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvii. 274. Price, M. 6.

³ *The Book of Job. Critical edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes,* by C. Siegfried, Professor in the University of Jena. English Translation of the Notes by R. E. Brünnow. Leipzig: Hinrichs. London: D. Nutt. Pp. 50.

value of a new critical text may prove to be which is the work not of a company, but of a single scholar, it is premature to say. The John Hopkins University also makes a useful contribution to the literature of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and to our knowledge of Caedmon's Genesis in the *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, edited, with Notes and Glossary, by James W. Bright, Ph.D.¹ The text of the sections from the Gospels is based on the MS. 140 belonging to the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The *Harrowing of Hell*, from the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, follows mainly the text of the Cambridge University Library MS. Mr W. H. Carnegie's *Through Conversion to Creed*² is an attempt to explain the origin and development of religious faith in the soul, and to show that there is nothing in them which reason cannot accept, The book has to some extent the interest of a personal narrative or an analysis of personal experience.

New editions appear of Mr Scott's *Foregleams of Christianity*, a thoughtful book, written very much in the spirit of Maurice's well-known Lectures, full of information, and with many just and suggestive observations on the relations of the old religions to Christianity³; Professor A. B. Bruce's *Apologetics*, a volume widely welcomed as both a weighty and a seasonable contribution to its subject⁴; Dr Archibald Henderson's *Palestine*, one of the best, completest, and most reliable handbooks, brought thoroughly up to date⁵; and Holtzmann's Commentary on the Johannine books,⁶ the merits of which, in an exegetical point of view, are beyond dispute, however questionable some of its critical conclusions may be. The attention paid to the considerable literature which has appeared in the brief period between the two editions adds to the usefulness of a book which forms one of the best sections of a most scholarly series. The fourth edition of Dillmann's *Hiob*⁷ in Hirzel's

¹ London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 385. Price 6s. 6d.

² London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 129. Price 3s.

³ The *Foregleams of Christianity*. An Essay on the Religious History of Antiquity. By Charles Newton Scott. London: Smith, Elder & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 223. Price 6s.

⁴ *Apologetics*; or, Christianity Defensively Stated. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xvi. 522. Price 10s. 6d.

⁵ *Palestine*: its Historical Geography, with Topographical Index and Maps. Second Edition, Revised. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. 226. Price 2s. 6d.

⁶ *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen-Testament*. Bearbeitet von Professor D. H. J. Holtzmann, &c. Viertes Band. Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London & Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 363. Price, M. 6.50.

⁷ Leipzig: Hirzel. 8vo, pp. xl. 361. Price, M. 6.

series has been followed by the sixth edition of the *Genesis*.¹ It is superfluous to speak of the value of Dillmann's work, and this is one of the best examples at once of the exact exegesis in which he is confessedly so great a master, and of the literary criticism in which he is cautious beyond the usual German measure. The book is indispensable to the student. The re-issue of Meyer's Commentary also proceeds apace. The sections embracing the Gospels of Mark, Luke,² and John³ appear in their eighth edition. The revision is carried through on the principles already applied to Matthew's Gospel. Luke's Gospel is entrusted to the son, while Mark and John are done by Professor Weiss himself. Great attention is given to matters of textual criticism, and in this respect the revision is a decided improvement on the original work. Meyer's exegesis is not seldom traversed—by no means to the best effect in all cases. Everything, however, is done which scholarship and industry can do to put the commentary abreast of the most recent inquiries and to increase its usefulness generally.

We have a new issue, corrected and enlarged, of Hirsche's edition of the *De Imitatione*, an exact and admirably printed reproduction of the original text, with arguments to the several books and chapters, a collection of parallel passages, and a facsimile of the autograph—altogether a most careful and excellent edition⁴; and the fifth part of the Freiburg series of select writings belonging to the sources of Church History and the History of Dogmas, under the general editorship of Professor D. G. Krüger. The clear type, the handy form, and the low price of these volumes make them most suitable for the theological student. The *Apologies* of Justin Martyr, Tertullian's *De pœnitentia*, *De pudicitia*, and *De praescriptione haereticorum*, and Augustin's *De catechisandis rudibus* have already appeared. We now have Clemens Alexandrinus'

¹ Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Elfte Lieferung, Die Genesis, von Dr August Dillmann. Leipzig: Hirzel. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xxii. 479. Price, M. 7.50.

² Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament begründet von Heinr. Aug. Wilh. Meyer. Erste Abtheilung, Zweite Hälfte. Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas. Achte Auflage neu bearbeitet von Dr Bernhard Weiss und Lic. Johannes Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. iv. 654. Price, M. 8.

³ The same. Zweite Abtheilung. Das Johannes-Evangelium. Achte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von D. Bernhard Weiss. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo. pp. 635. Price, M. 8.

⁴ Thomae Kempensis *De Imitatione Christi*, Libri Quatuor. Textum ex autographo Thomae nunc primum accuratissime reddidit, etc. Carolus Hirsche. Editio altera, etc. Berolini: Habel. Pp. xlvii. 376.

*Quis dives salvetur?*¹ The eleventh volume of the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*² is received, giving an exhaustive account of the theological literature for 1891—an invaluable book of reference; also Gasquet's treatise on the *Book of Common Prayer*,³ one of the most important contributions made to the history of the book, investigating anew the whole question of its origin, and giving much valuable and curious information on the Church Services at the death of Henry VIII., Cranmer's Projected Breviary, the Communion Book, the new Liturgy, the Lectionaries and Calendars.

Professor George Adam Smith's Inaugural Address, published under the title of *The Preaching of the Old Testament to the Age*,⁴ is an opportune statement, given in the writer's attractive style, of the reasons which have made the Hebrew Scriptures so largely the "text for Christian preaching upon public life," and an argument on behalf of their special adaptation to the preacher's use in the conditions of the present day. Professor Doumergue, of Montauban, gives us a small, but admirably written treatise on the subject of authority, dealing in an able and lucid way with current discussions on that question.⁵ Nothing from the hand of E. Nestle can fail to be of interest to the scholar, and under the title, *De Sancta Cruce*,⁶ he has made a curious contribution to the legendary history of the Cross. On the basis of a London MS., dated 1196, and a translation by Dudley Loftus from "An Antient Aramaean Biologist," as the title runs, which appeared in Dublin in 1686, and was lost to view for nearly two centuries, we get a Syrian story of a double discovery of Christ's Cross, one said to have been made in the time of Peter and John by a spouse of the Emperor Claudius, bearing the name of Ptrvni or Patronica, and another, otherwise known, by Helena the mother of Constantine. The Syriac text and the translation are given, and the whole is illustrated by a series of important notes.

Principal Drummond, of Manchester New College, contributes to the series of Biblical Manuals, edited by Mr Estlin Carpenter, a

¹ Herausgegeben von K. Köster. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xi. 63. Price, M. 1.40.

² Theologischer Jahresbericht . . . herausgegeben von R. A. Lipsius. Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. x. 658. Price 12s.

³ Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer, etc. By Francis Aidan Gasquet and Edmund Bishop. London: Hodges. Demy 8vo, pp. 466. Price 12s.

⁴ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 60. Price 1s.

⁵ L'Autorité en Matière de Foi et la Nouvelle École. Par E. Doumergue, &c. Lausanne: Payot. 16mo, pp. 240.

⁶ De Sancta Cruce. Ein Beitrag zur Christlichen Legendengeschichte. Von Eberhard Nestle. Berlin: Reuther. 8vo, pp. viii. 128. Price, M. 4.

Vol. III.—No. 3.

small Commentary on the *Epistle of St Paul to the Galatians*,¹ which follows the views usually taken of the Galatian people and their territory. The explanations and illustrations are clear, brief, and always to the point. To the *Manuals of Early Christian History*,² also edited by Mr Estlin Carpenter, Mr W. E. Addis contributes the volume on *Christianity and the Roman Empire*, a readable and instructive book. The *Roman Empire* and the *Christian Mission* are first sketched generally. Then follow chapters on the *Legal Position of Christianity*, the *Learned Defence of Christianity*, the *Changed Aspects of Christianity*, the *Attempt to make Christianity an Intellectual System*, the *Rise of the Catholic Church*, and the *Impending Triumph of the Mixed System*. Mr Addis knows the importance of these questions, he knows the historical spirit, and writes both with adequate knowledge and with remarkable impartiality.

Dr Hugh Macmillan's *The Mystery of Grace, and other Sermons*,³ will be welcomed by all who know the charm of his pen and his gift of illustrating spiritual truth by natural analogies. The volume contains some of the most striking and characteristic discourses that he has yet published, and he has published not a few. Those bearing the titles, *On the Wings of the Morning*, *The Land of Far Distances*, *The Cherubims of the Vail*, and those on *Deborah* and *Pilate's Wife*, are of particular value. The volume by the Rev. Morris Joseph, *The Ideal in Judaism, and other Sermons*,⁴ is of a kind that seldom comes under our notice. Its special interest lies in the attempt to establish Judaism on the ground of reason, and to vindicate it as the simplest and most glorious of all the old creeds, and, among the new creeds, the one with the most fruitful inspiration. But on other subjects, *Pessimism*, *Arts and Morals*, and the like, it has also some weighty words. Mr Troup publishes a number of addresses for the help of young persons on the occasion of their first admission to the Lord's Table.⁵ The form of the book is most tasteful. Its contents include such subjects as *habits*, *keeping the soul*, *holiness*, *growth*, &c. On these Mr Troup writes earnestly, attractively, and in a way entirely appropriate to the object in view. Mr Arthur Willink's *The World of the Unseen*,⁶ which attempts to explain the relation of higher space to things eternal, ventures into a region into which it is impossible for anyone known to us to follow him.

¹ London: The Sunday School Association. Pp. 200. Price 1s. 6d.

² London: B. C. Hare. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. 221. Price 3s. 6d.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 329. Price 6s.

⁴ London: David Nutt. Small 8vo, pp. 207. Price 5s.

⁵ Words to Young Christians. Addresses to Young Communicants. By George Elmslie Troup, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Small 8vo, pp. 250. Price 4s. 6d.

⁶ London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price 6s.

But among recent collections of pulpit discourses, the volume of *Cathedral and University Sermons*,¹ by the late Dean Church, stands out conspicuous and in some respects unapproachable. It contains some of the best efforts of the lamented author, as regards both style and thought. Among others, it is enough to name those on *The Seriousness of Life, Human Judgment and Divine, The Certainty of Judgment*, and *Human Life in the Light of Immortality*.

The two books which deserve to rank as the most considerable contributions made to theological literature within the last few months are Professor Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*,² and Principal Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*.³ They are both books of original power, and contain many things which require some serious study before an opinion worth having can be given upon them. They demand more extended and careful review than the limits of space at present allow. We can only indicate at present their general importance, and reserve for next number an examination of them more befitting their merits.

Dr Peter Bayne's *The Free Church of Scotland, her Origin, Founders, and Testimony*,⁴ is the best of all the books which have been called forth by the Jubilee of the Free Church. It is written in full sympathy with the men whose characters and careers it sketches, and with the principles for which they contended and suffered, but at the same time in a broad and catholic spirit, with a just regard for eminent men who took a different course. It is altogether reliable in its statement of facts, while it has all the charm of the author's gift of style. In its descriptions of memorable scenes like those of Marnoch, and its unravelling of the legal and ecclesiastical issues, it has no rival. Neither have we anywhere else such a series of vivid, truthful, appreciative pictures of the leaders in the movement—Chalmers, Welsh, Candlish, Cunningham, Begg, Guthrie, Hugh Miller, Murray Dunlop, and many more. But the book has a greater merit still. "In Scotland," says Dr Bayne, "from the days of Knox, a Church, republican in form, combining Congregational completeness and parochial autonomy with synodical order, in which all members, lay and clerical, are spiritually equal, and the clergy are but the ministering servants of the flock, has been the object of trust and affection." This is the hinge of the whole history, and Dr Bayne unfolds, with conspicuous force and clearness, what was involved in this Scottish idea of the Church—an idea so radically different from the English notion. The

¹ London: Macmillan & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 317. Price 6s.

² London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xv. 494. Price 12s.

³ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. xxiii. 556. Price 12s.

⁴ Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xiv. 246. Price 6s.

movement which ended in the formation of the Free Church is, therefore, interpreted by him as the last passage in the long struggle of the Scottish people to keep their freedom in matters of faith and worship, and to have a Church true to the idea of a spiritual institution, serving the State, but not subject to it in things spiritual. Mrs Oliphant's *Thomas Chalmers, Preacher, Philosopher, and Statesman*,¹ comes opportunely in connection with the same occasion. It is a sympathetic, careful, and appreciative study of one of the greatest of the Scotchmen of our century, not wholly correct in some of its statements on incidental matters, but altogether just and worthy in its broad presentation of the man, his genius, his personality, his great capacity in many different lines, and his service to Scotland. Mrs Oliphant has given her heart to her subject, and her book will be enjoyed by all of every shade of opinion who can recognise and honour greatness.

Dr Momerie's *The Religion of the Future*² is a smart, not to say wild, assault on the Churches and the clergy of the day. No doubt there is enough to correct in both, but it is a libel on the English character to say, as Dr Momerie allows himself to say, that "take up almost any volume of sermons you please, and you will find it full of what looks like studied ambiguity." This is only a specimen of what we get in the book. The author begins by remarking that it is "easier to call a man names than to examine his arguments." In this volume, however, he is himself largely occupied with the boy's pastime of calling names. The best thing, perhaps, that he says is when he remarks on Hartmann's pessimistic religion of the future, and the satisfaction it is to offer to the believer, that it is "like a grim joke. Satisfaction! When the only achievement of the unconscious is to have produced the worst of all possible worlds!"

Professor Wendt, of Heidelberg, publishes a short and instructive tractate on *Die Norm des echten Christenthums*,³ which should be read in connection with his well-known *Lehre Jesu*. His object is to prove that, as a necessary consequence of Christ's relation to the Christian religion, Christ's own teaching is the one standard by which to determine the real contents of the Christian religion; and that the exclusively normative value thus assigned to Christ's teaching is inconsistent neither with the principle of the Reformers as regards Scripture, nor with the specific worth of Scripture as compared with all other kinds of Christian literature. The book is well written, and carefully argued at most points, though not at all.

¹ London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 255. Price 5s.

² Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 141. Price 3s. 6d.

³ Leipzig: Grunow. 8vo, pp. 51. Price, Pf. 50.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
WILFRID WARD'S WILLIAM GEORGE WARD AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL	By PETER BAYNE, LL.D., London, . . . 343
DADSON'S EVOLUTION AND RELIGION	By Professor JAMES IVERACH, D.D., Aberdeen, 352
RAMSAY'S THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE A.D. 170	By Rev. Professor GEORGE G. FINDLAY, B.A., Headingley College, . . . 356
THE KING AND THE KINGDOM: A STUDY OF THE FOUR GOSPELS	By Rev. Professor JOHN MASSIE, M.A., Mansfield College, Oxford, . . . 365
FAIRBAIRN'S THE PLACE OF CHRIST IN MODERN THEOLOGY	By Professor JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D., Glasgow, 369
BOVON'S THÉOLOGIE DU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT	By Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D., Edinburgh, 379
CRUTTWELL'S A LITERARY HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY	By Rev. C. A. SCOTT, B.A. Cantab., . . . 382
KLOSTERMANN'S DER PENTATEUCH	By Rev. Professor W. H. BENNETT, M.A., New College, London, 390
GODET'S INTRODUCTION AU NOUVEAU TESTAMENT	By Rev. Professor W. F. ADENEY, M.A., New College, London, 391
WRIGHT'S MAN AND THE GLACIAL PERIOD	By Rev. D. GATH WHITLEY, M.A., Scorrier, Cornwall, 396
HERRMANN'S VERKEHR DES CHRISTEN MIT GOTT	By Professor JAMES ORR, D.D., Edinburgh, 401
SCHWARTZE'S UNTERSUCHUNGEN ÜBER DIE ÄUSSERE ENTWICKELUNG DER AFRIKANISCHEN KIRCHE	By Professor ALEX. MACALISTER, M.D., Cambridge, 410
REICH'S DAS PROPHETISCHE SCRIFT-TUM	By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., Glasgow, 416
FAITH AND CRITICISM: ESSAYS BY CONGREGATIONALISTS	By Rev. DAVID SOMERVILLE, M.A., Edinburgh, 418
ROOKE'S INSPIRATION AND OTHER LECTURES	By Rev. FREDERICK J. RAE, M.A., Newport, 425
HERFORD'S THE STORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND	By Rev. FREDERICK J. RAE, M.A., Newport, 426

Contents.

NOTICES	PAGE
By the EDITOR,	427
<p>CHARLES' THE BOOK OF ENOCH ; HARNACK'S DOGMENGESCHICHTE ; LIDDON'S EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS OF ST PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS ; THE EXPOSITOR, Vol. VII. ; THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Vol. IV. ; MACPHERSON'S SCHUBERT'S THE GOSPEL OF ST PETER ; SWETE'S THE AKHMÎM FRAGMENT OF THE APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL OF ST PETER ; MRS RUSSELL GURNEY'S DANTE'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS ; LILLIE'S THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM ON PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY ; BARNES' CANONICAL AND UNCANONICAL GOSPELS ; BLAIKIE'S BOOK OF JOSHUA ; MACLAREN'S THE PSALMS ; OMAN'S SCHLEIERMACHER'S ON RELIGION ; LOCK'S JOHN KEBLE ; MACGREGOR'S THE REVELATION AND THE RECORD ; JAMES' APOCRYPHA ANECDOTA ; ARMITAGE ROBINSON'S THE PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN ; HIGGENS' HEBREW IDOLATRY AND SUPERSTITION ; MOULE'S COLOSSIANS AND PHILEMON ; HICKIE'S GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON TO THE NEW TESTAMENT ; RUSSELL WAKEFIELD'S LIFE AND RELIGION ; WRIGHT'S THOUGHTS UPON SOME WORDS OF CHRIST ; LOCKYER'S THE GOSPEL OF JOHN ; BEECHER'S BIBLE STUDIES ; THE QUEEN'S PRINTERS' AIDS TO THE STUDENT OF THE HOLY BIBLE ; REVUE DE THÉOLOGIE ET DES QUESTIONS RELIGIEUSES ; ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE ; THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW ; THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW.</p>	
RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE	439

Ward, Newman, and Calvin.

William George Ward and the Catholic Revival. By Wilfrid Ward. London: Macmillan & Co., 1893. Pp. xiii. 468. 8vo. Price 14s.

WILLIAM GEORGE WARD and John Henry Newman were the best-known names among those resolute and high-principled Tractarians who, finding that the Church of England would not adapt itself to their model, submitted to the Church of Rome. Ward, who, in the vehemency of his recoil from Protestantism, outstripped Newman himself, and was, perhaps, the most thorough-going Papist among modern Englishmen, has just been recalled to the memory of a hurrying and forgetful age by the conspicuously truthful volume, partly biographical, partly controversial, published by his son, Mr Wilfrid Ward. It furnishes not a little matter for an object-lesson on the signs of the time.

W. G. Ward was from childhood of a peculiar disposition,—an original, surprising, contradictory, but far from unpleasant creature from the first. He “could not remember any time of his life when he had not a sincere wish to please God.” At the same time, he had that keen delight in amusement which was a characteristic also of Cowper. But Cowper did not, like Ward, display from boyhood throughout life an insatiable relish for the opera and the theatre. Educated at Winchester and Oxford, he gave proof of parts, but not of sound and all-round ability. He got a good hold of Latin, he excelled in mathematics, he was passionately fond of disputation, and loved paradox, a combination of qualities sure to make him a burning and shining light among the young men of the Oxford Union. In respect of history, his mind was a total blank; he had no feeling for poetry; and his ignorance of common things was phenomenal. He did not know the most ordinary trees from each other, and once, on partaking of some soles, remarked, “These are very nice, where do they grow?” He was, however, in the depths of his nature, a humourist, and at all periods of his life enjoyed a joke against himself so intensely that one might almost believe of him what is said of the negro who went into fits of laughter at the joke of being flogged by mistake. There was plainly a spice of whimsicality, a slight trace even of affectation, in his composition. So far as consciousness went, he was sturdily truthful,—grotesquely so, his friend Tennyson said,—and habitually gave such unflattering accounts of him-

self as conveyed an erroneous impression. He thus enormously increased the charges on an insurance of his life, and once horrified his spiritual adviser by confessing almost murderous feelings of satisfaction in connection with the expected demise of one from whom he expected to inherit a property. "Good heavens!" cried the priest at last, "you would not do anything to *hasten* his death, would you?" At this, Ward broke into a laugh, and the dialogue came to an end.

His kindred were decidedly Protestant. A characteristic of the family was stiff individualism, prickly wilfulness, without rancour. They differed from each other, and agreed not to speak, but, if they accidentally met, did not scowl upon each other, and might even shake hands and engage in cordial talk, but did not on that account resume family intercourse. When Ward first appeared as a stripling of eighteen at Oxford, he was under Evangelical influences, and took rank with the Tories. But the ardently religious Liberalism of Arnold attracted him, and he was passing through this phasis when the star of Newman was in its rise. At first he assumed an attitude of antagonism to the Anglo-Catholic movement, "looking on it as holding up superstitions and myths for admiration rather than that high ethical ideal which it is the highest office of religion to encourage and enforce." When a friend urged him to hear Newman preach, he replied, "Why should I go and hear such myths?"

The change, as might have been expected, was sudden and complete. He was persuaded to hear Newman preach, and great was the spell of Newman's preaching. He became personally acquainted with Newman, and there was thus brought to bear upon him that strange fascination, irresistibly potent for some minds, which was partly imaginative and poetical, partly rhetorical, but assuredly *not* logical. The Oxford tradition avers that Newman effected a breach in the wall of Ward's Protestantism "almost by a single remark—namely, that it would have been impossible, if the Primitive Church had been Protestant in our modern sense, that the Church of the third and fourth centuries should have been what it was,—that the growth of Catholicism could not have been from a Protestant root." There is a momentary plausibility about this. It is adapted to mystify a mind disputatious rather than logical, and had perhaps a special power upon Ward from his total ignorance of history. But so simple an observation as Mr R. H. Hutton's, "that the unspiritual, no less than the spiritual, elements of the Early Church—the tendencies rebuked by our Lord, not less than the tendencies fostered by Him—were among the seeds out of which the historical Church grew," conclusively disposes of it. And if we begin by defining our terms and ascertaining the *status ques-*

tionis, and lay it down that the Protestantism we own and profess is just the rejection of any principles introduced into the Church, whether in the first or the third or the sixteenth or the nineteenth century, which are in conflict with the mind and will of Christ, then the sheer irrelevancy, the puerile speciosity and *ad captandum* plausibility, of the Newmanian argument become apparent. Persons of confused minds—and there are many of them to be met with in the Protestant Churches—think of Protestantism as a system of dogma. But it would be false to its name, as a protest against every blemish, or excrescence, or defect, in the expression of Christian truth, if it accepted any one scheme of dogma as infallible and unimprovable. The Protestant Church means the vitally Progressive Church, progressing more and more and more until faith and knowledge “like the twin tidal wave inarm the world.”

Ward not only heard Newman preach and listened to his conversation, but read the *Remains* of Hurrell Froude. Hurrell Froude was, like his more distinguished brother, a man of genius—this, at least, may be inferred from his great influence on Newman; but all that the present writer knows of him is gathered from general reading in the literature of the Oxford movement, and the impression thence derived is that he was more *soaked* in Romish habitudes and devotions than any other of the Tractarians. Ward's Protestantism now fell from him like water from a duck's back. He became Newman's boldest adherent. He signalled himself by defending his chief in the crucial instance of Tract 90. It is only on the ground that both Newman and Ward were at this time comparatively unversed in controversial theology, that their personal honesty in maintaining that the Thirty-Nine Articles admit of a Romish sense can be credited. Ward's total ignorance of history rendered a good deal possible on his part, but it is difficult to trace his rugged truthfulness in the proposition that Roman Catholics can conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles. If such truthfulness is “grotesque,” it is so only as a grotesque jest. Newman, however, has explained that Tract 90 was on his part a kind of practical inquiry whether downright Romanism could be read into the Articles, and he adds that, when the answer proved to be in the negative, he decided to quit the Anglican Establishment. Ward also has a right to the benefit derivable from this avowal. He too, finding that the Bishops were not prepared to dance to his piping, came to the resolution of bidding adieu to the Anglican Establishment. While still within the Anglican pale, he published a volume on the *Ideal of a Christian Church* (which drew commendations from Sir William Hamilton), and married a wife, by which act he shut himself out from the

Romish priesthood, which it would otherwise have been the supreme felicity of his life to enter.

Looking with patient and sympathetic consideration into the reasons that weighed with Ward, Newman, and their followers in entering the Church of Rome, we find them to consist mainly in what they believed to be the satisfaction thus obtained of spiritual wants, legitimate to them as Christian men, and which could not be satisfied outside the Papacy. The Church of Rome had "preserved," said Ward, "the reality of Church authority." He discerned no reality of authority in Protestantism, Established or Nonconformist. "True guidance in return to loving obedience is," he declared, "the prime need of man," and gladly paying the price he accepted the guidance of the infallible Roman Church. Thus, to begin with, the intellectual doubts, the haunting scepticisms and difficulties, of speculative religion were once for all surmounted. Placed on the impregnable rock of infallibility, he deemed himself out of reach of all the artillery of unbelief. On any other showing, certitude was unattainable. "A full intellectual examination of pros and cons in numerous and complicated theological arguments was a matter for which human intelligence was far too imperfect, and human life far too short." The way was to turn from the masters of knowledge, the men of intellectual light and leading, and have recourse to "holy men whose lives appealed to the conscience as the embodiment of all that is highest and noblest," and who "were from that very fact safe guides to what is true in religion." In one word, the infallible Church, and her multitude of canonised saints, were to put an end to disputation and bring peace to the soul.

Here again there is plausibility. The scheme of an institute guaranteeing certitude and securing repose has a reasonable, pleasing look. But when we go to the fountain-head—when we turn to Christ, and the men filled with His image and influence—we find that it is not sanctioned by them. It is a very noticeable circumstance that Ward and Newman have marvellously little to say about Christ. It is the Church, the Church, the Church. No doubt they would say that, in speaking of the Church, they implied Christ's presence. But such a matter ought not to be left to implication. The question required absolutely to be put and answered, Did Christ bestow infallibility upon His Church and announce that the infallibility was to be perpetual? Had Ward looked closely enough, and impartially enough—not permitting himself to be biased by his own intense yearning for infallible guidance, but preserving rigid loyalty to truth alone—he would have learned that Scripture lends no countenance to his assumption. The Christian religion is not made for torpid minds. There is nothing in the Bible to make one expect that it will

furnish people with irresistible methods of getting rid of thought and the activities and difficulties of thought. "I come not to send peace but a sword," said Christ. "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," said St Paul. There is, no doubt, the promise of light to the honest searcher, but there is no encouragement to the folding of the hands in intellectual sleep.

Newman draws a picture of the general state of the world which, in the darkness of its colouring, is more impressive than Ward's impatience under the fatigue of religious investigation, and which may better serve as a prelude to his bitter cry for an infallible Church. "The defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the prevailing idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, 'Having no hope and without God in the world,' all this," he says, "is a vision to dizzy and appal, and inflicts on the mind the sense of a profound mystery which is absolutely beyond human solution." And is it not equally true that the aggressive energy of the sceptical intellect dashes impetuously against all religious truths, all religious institutions, all that restrains the raging power of evil? Does not an infallible Church seem to be precisely the thing wanted? "Such a provision," says Newman, "would be a direct, immediate, certain, and prompt means of withstanding the difficulty; it would be an instrument suited to the need; and when I find that this is the very claim of the Catholic Church, not only do I feel no difficulty in admitting the idea, but there is a fitness in it which recommends it to my mind. And thus I am brought to speak of the Church's infallibility as a provision, adapted by the mercy of the Creator, to preserve religion in the world, and to restrain that freedom of thought, which of course in itself is one of the greatest of natural gifts, and to rescue it from its own suicidal excesses."

There is only one answer that could at a glance dispose of this. But that one answer is at hand, and is conclusive. Christ did *not* provide the machinery proposed. The Church was not infallible when He moved among men. The Apostle Peter did not possess infallibility, for in the immediate sequel of his ascription to Christ of Divine Sonship, he went so far wrong in giving expression to his views of Christian duty, that Christ rebuked him for Satanic sin. St Paul was certainly not infallible. Nay, we may reverently affirm that, in exercising His prerogative and powers as mediatorial sovereign of the Church—in carrying out the task committed to Him by the Father in the conversion of mankind and the erection of the kingdom of heaven upon earth—Jesus Christ Himself did not wield the instrumentality which Newman supposes Him to have

conferred on the Church. We have no reason to think that, in deference to or in fear of modern sceptics, He would have made larger appeal to the supernatural than He made in dealing with His own generation. Now, as then, His answer is, "There shall no sign be given it." There was no irresistible miracle of infallibility to force men to believe. Our Lord was not less desirous to "withstand" evil, and preserve and propagate "religion," than Dr Newman. Yet He wept over Jerusalem. He wept because Jerusalem "would not" accept His heavenly care and governance. His tears were sincere; as sincere as when, in Gethsemane, He prayed that, if it were compatible with the counsels of the Eternal, His own death-agony might be avoided. Why was not a stupendous miracle then wrought, and evil at once brought to an end? As well ask why evil ever existed. Christ, in founding His kingdom, in preaching the Gospel, was the Head among many brethren, and neither personally nor by His disciples did He, so to speak, beat down unbelief by the exercise of miraculous infallibility. Spurgeon said one of the very deepest things uttered by any theologian of the century when he said that, if Christ were to return, he, Spurgeon, would go on preaching just as before. Admirable! "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be converted though one rose from the dead." Spurgeon had no weak hankering after the supernatural, and would not expect Christ to paralyse the minds and consciences of His people when searching the Scriptures, by means of an official infallibility.

Christ stamped His Divine personality upon the minds, hearts, wills, and consciences of certain men, and these, again, breathed this Divine inspiration into certain writings. No human infallibility was set to guard the truth and the life thus committed to the Church; but the promise of the Spirit accompanied them; and all that is imperishable of the image of God in the soul of man,—conscience, reason, pure affection, the higher self, the spiritual sympathy,—bore witness to them. Guarded by no ecclesiastical infallibility, the Christian Scriptures guide the religious thought of the Protestant nations, and Romish bishops in France lament that more respect is shown to religion in Protestant England than in their own country.

If Ward and Newman left their doubts behind them, is it beyond question that they were advantaged? Lulled into enchantment by the visionary infallibility they had yearned for, they accepted after the hastiest show of examination the averments of the Church of Rome that she possessed the magical talisman, and veiled the eyes of their minds before the Papal infallibility. What was the result? Were they strengthened to bear forward the standard of Christianity in a scientific and

sceptical age? Mr Wilfrid Ward affords us a curiously pertinent answer to this question. When Newman and Ward had been a few years in the Church of Rome, the former wrote to the latter from the Oratory, Birmingham, in the following terms:—"St Philip has lately done us a *grazia*. A poor factory girl, a convert of Father Ambrose's, who did not seem to have much faith in him, or any, and had had a severe illness, has been raised from extreme weakness, almost from death, by the application of his relics." Dr Newman frankly avowed that his intellect had always held out against transubstantiation until he sacrificed his judgment to Roman infallibility, adding that, after submission, he had found belief in transubstantiation easy. Now it is not too much to say that, to return to the state of intellectual civilisation in which men of the mental calibre of Ward and Newman believed in the performance of miraculous cures by application of saintly relics, would imply a rolling back of mental progress by a thousand years. This would, in fact, be a fairly correct expression by way of formula to embody the general result of a *bona fide* acceptance of Papal infallibility in modern Europe and in America. Had the Head of the Church "put in commission in human hands"—to use Mr Hutton's graphic phrase—that infallibility by which Dr Newman believed himself to have unspeakably benefited, the Christian intelligence of Europe would at this hour have been compelled to undertake the defence of the faith against science on the strength of miracles wrought by St Philip's bones. The exquisite civility with which professed atheists always treat thorough-going Papists is explicable on the principle that they consider the latter to have relinquished the conflict and to be captives of their bow and of their spear.

But it was not ecclesiastical infallibility alone that Ward and Newman vainly sought among the Protestant communions. They missed the unity, the catholicity, the fellowship of the Church. They met with no response to their social instincts as members one of another in Christ's visible body. The Reformation, they affirmed, had been a sprouting out of innumerable sects. The Reformers they fiercely denounced as the schismatical advocates of particular dogmas. This misrepresentation is perpetually made, not only by Romanists but by Anglicans, as well as by many of those Erastians who trace the unity and constitution of the Church to the State. It derives colour from the diversities of Protestantism, but does great injustice to the Reformers, and ought to be repudiated and denied by every one who desires to set forth the true nature of the Reformed Catholic Church. The aim of the Reformers was to restore, not to destroy,—to apply the search-light of Scriptural truth, with a view to restoration, to each successive feature that had been

obscured in the building of which Christ was the corner stone. Can any one pretend to have looked into the writings of Luther without discovering that he would rather have died by any form of martyr pain than made the truth narrower than the Bible, or the Church narrower than the whole congregation of the faithful? The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as revealed from heaven to man, was what Luther aspired to teach and to preach.

If there is any one book that may be regarded, apart from the Bible, but professing to derive all its authority from the Bible, as a Manifesto of the Reformed Church, it is Calvin's *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*. It is not the Bible, and God forbid that it should ever be taken for the Bible. Intellectually, Calvin was colossal, and in the single-eyed intensity of his devotion to the cause of God and man sublime. He was the prose Dante of the Reformed Church, Milton being the Dantesque poet of Puritanism. But the Reformed Church never in her formularies swore allegiance to Calvin—only to Christ; and in these days she has most wisely become alive to her duty of making it plain that her submission to the Divine sovereignty does not impair her faith, her trust, her exultation in the Divine love. Beyond question, however, Calvin's mighty book gave theological law to Reformed Christendom for centuries, and one has only to glance into it to see how preposterous is the idea that the Reformation was a mere inventing of dogmas and founding of sects. It can no more be said of Calvin than it can be said of St Paul that he substituted any doctrine specially his own for the comprehensive teaching of Scripture. And of the four parts of which his great work consists, the most extensive, and certainly not the least elaborate, is that which treats *De Sancta Ecclesia Catholica*. Mr Wilfrid Ward does not give us a hint that his father ever looked into Calvin's reasons for deciding that the Popes had usurped the primacy they hold, and had thus erected a tyranny in the Church of Christ. If he had looked with candid, unbiased inspection, he must have seen that they were of that kind which are called overwhelming. It is only by torturing the brain for ingenuities of evasion or illusion that any pretence of a stand can be made against Calvin's phalanx of argument. You have to force yourself to believe that the Popes inherit from Peter an exclusive authority which Peter never imagined himself to possess. You have to mystify and bewitch yourself into the persuasion that, when the system of Judaism had been superseded by the spiritual glory of the Gospel, and the one sacrificing Priest of Christians had passed into the heavens, then the huge anachronism, superfluity, and contradiction of a supreme sacrificing Pontiff was set up in Rome to be head over the Church of Christ. He who would see the filmy iridescence of plausible

rhetoric penetrated and burnt up by the lightnings of irresistible logic may be advised to compare Newman's dissertation on Church development with Calvin's chapter *De Primatu Romanæ Sedis*. "Christ by His ascent removed from us His visible presence, but He ascended to fill all things: now, therefore, the Church has Himself present, and will have forever." That was enough for Calvin. That was enough, also, for Cyprian who, in a lovely passage quoted from Cyprian by Calvin, anticipated the modern diffusion of Church unity and Catholicity, under the Headship of Christ, by comparing it to the unity of rays from one sun, branches in one tree, and streams from one fountain. But is it not monstrous, seeing that, in the first and greatest book embodying the constructive theology of the Reformation, Calvin, working from Holy Writ and winging his thoughts with words from Cyprian and Augustine, not only impeached the Papacy of having set up a false and tyrannical claim to Catholicity, but lucidly, comprehensively, and unanswerably set forth the unity and Catholicity of the Church under Christ, the Reformers should have been accused by Newman, Ward, and a crowd of Anglicans of having broken up the Church into a miscellany of sects?

It is necessary only to add that, if Ward and Newman did not attain to an intelligent and conclusive answer to their sceptical doubts and difficulties in the Church of Rome, no more did they reach that abode of ecclesiastical peace and millennial harmony which they expected to replace the dissidence of Protestantism. They declared themselves indeed to be eminently pleased with their situation, but they certainly were still in a region of storm and debate. Ward and Newman could not agree as to what specifically it was in which the inestimable infallibility they sought consisted. Newman placed it in the Church. Ward, with De Maistre, inclined rather to say that Christianity was the Pope. Ward's high-flying Papistry was too much for Newman, and estrangement occurred between the two. But even Ward was not so advanced as some Continental Paptists. The celebrated Veillot, the advocate of ultra-Papalism in the French press, "indulged," says Mr Wilfrid Ward, "in language about the Holy Father which seemed to many Catholics positively profane." The words in which the Apostle speaks of our Lord as "much higher than the heavens" were applied by this section to the Pope. The hymn beginning

"Rerum Deus tenax vigor"

was actually printed with "Pius" substituted for "Deus." And so Dupanloup thundered against Veillot in France, and Newman controversially tackled Bishop Ullathorne in England, and the noises of bitterest conflict rang within the bosom of the infallible Papacy.

Intrepid as Ward was as a disputant, he had too much of disputation in his ideal Church. He preferred a downright grapple with Huxley or any other hopelessly heretical member of the Metaphysical Society to a debate with one who represented some particular shade of the countless varieties of Jesuitism, Ultramontanism, and Papalism. "While his Catholic controversies made him ill, his meetings and arguments with his metaphysical friends and enemies were among the most effective tonics when he was ill or depressed." He surrendered the freedom of his soul in order to gain an advantage over sceptical doubts and ecclesiastical difficulties, and he found that even discussion with Agnostics was a relief against the interminable babblement of sham infallibility.

PETER BAYNE.

Evolution and Religion.

*By A. J. Dadson. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
8vo, pp. x. 348. Price 10s. 6d.*

THE Theory of Evolution has now been expounded so fully, and has been applied so freely, that almost everyone has some idea of what it means. It has passed out of the hands of the specialist, and has become the property of the tyro. As a consequence, we may expect to have many books written on the applications of the theory, and many of these will, as a matter of course, be of a very peculiar type. We have a book from the pen of Mr Dadson, which may be taken as the kind of book which only men of imperfect training could have written. His attitude may be seen from the following statement taken from the preface. "Theology, with all its miserable, degrading dogmas, has separated the heart from the intellect; and by causing an incessant warfare between the two, has impoverished both. To reconcile them, theology must be eliminated, and this is the aim and tendency of the best intellectual work of the present century" (page ix.). We ask how Mr Dadson does his work? Does he show himself to be such an authority on science, history, philosophy, that we may take his statement for granted that theology must be eliminated?

We read his opening chapter, and we do not read far when we find out something which enables us to measure the ability and learning of Mr Dadson. We find that a good deal of his matter, and some of his method, is taken from Dr Draper. We find also that Mr Dadson sets down the mythology of the Greeks as theology, and writes thus: "The crude notions of the priests regarding the origin and constitution of the Universe, which satisfied the people, could not, of course, find any favour with men so intellec-

tually endowed as were the sages of Greece." Again, he calls these "crude notions of the priests" the theological explanation of the universe. Why? Might it not have occurred to Mr Dadson that these "crude notions" were as much scientific as theological. Mythology is the product of reflection, is the first attempt at a scientific explanation of the universe, and it is both unscientific and unhistorical to describe these crude notions as theological. They are the first beginnings of science. What a book might be written on the abortive scientific theories of the universe! If it were written, and if the writer were as one-sided as Mr Dadson, he might have put into his preface a statement to this effect, that "science must be eliminated." Happily, theologians are not so rash nor so ignorant.

We pass on to read the other chapters of this work. We are led on from point to point, and we are filled full of wonder. We have, of course, a reference to Kant and Laplace, and a statement to the effect that "Kant's Cosmological Gas theory has been fully established by Laplace and Herschell." He has apparently not observed that Mr Herbert Spencer gives only a qualified assent to the nebular theory, nor is he aware that Mr Proctor has shown that the phenomena of the solar system cannot be explained by the theory of Laplace and Kant.

But even more astonishing are the statements of Mr Dadson with regard to the beginnings of life. We quote a few of his statements. "If evolution is true, so also is the theory that the development of life from inorganic matter takes place to-day, and has taken place continually and uninterruptedly since the earth first arrived at a condition favourable for the production of life. Masses of structureless matter possessing life are found all over the world, and especially at great sea depths" (p. 18). "A small mass lying in a quiescent state may be observed all at once to shoot out very thin thread-like feelers in all directions, which, as soon as they come into contact with suitable material, close round and draw it into the main body, which then closes over it, extemporises, as it were, a stomach, and feeds on the matter thus secured" (p. 36). At present all that we need say is this, that it is the universal belief of men of science that living matter, whether it can be called structureless or not, comes only from pre-existing living matter. But Mr Dadson is of a contrary opinion, for he says: "Nature's laboratory is probably continually producing this subtle, naked, formless living matter; and exemplifying the saying of the ancient Greek philosopher, that everything is ready to burst into life. Not only is it elaborated from inorganic matter by vegetables, but there is, I think, reason to believe that it comes into existence without the intervention of other living organisms, direct from

mineral substance. Haeckel discovered it in the shape of small specks, to which he gave the name *Monera*, and Huxley found it in enormous quantities at the greatest depths of the sea, and gave to it the descriptive name of *Bathybius*" (p. 38). We do not know whether Professor Huxley will care to be reminded of the "descriptive name of *Bathybius*." But Huxley has long ago agreed with the view set forth by the *Challenger* scientists, that the material which he described as *Bathybius* is a form of sulphate of lime. It is not necessary that we should tell the story here. But we may inquire whether Mr Dadson has heard of it? If he has, how was it possible for him to write the sentences in the above quotation? If he has not, what dependence can we place on his historical or his scientific knowledge? He ought to have known that the views of Dr Bastian have been disproved, and that the progress of science has shown that all forms of life at present in existence have come from living matter. Dr Bastian's experiments have now only an antiquarian interest. As we turned over the pages of Mr Dadson's book, we expected that we should have come on the old vulgar belief, that eels could, under suitable circumstances and conditions, be developed from the hairs of a horse's tail. Certainly some of Mr Dadson's views are just as scientific as was that ancient and still-existing belief.

It is not necessary to trace further the account we have in this book of the evolution theory. He does not allow us to forget his assumptions. He states further on: "We found the *Moneron* to be a structureless little mass of living matter: and the ancestor of every living form in existence, animal and vegetable. Wherever we see a pool of rank water, there, probably, we see Nature's workshop, in which she is evolving and elaborating life from the raw material, some of which will die in its formless condition, some survive and develop into vegetable forms, others into animal" (p. 45). Well, Darwin and Spencer we know; Romanes and Huxley we have read; and the recent discussions on Weissmann's theory we have seen: but these are men who guard their statements. They know too well what takes place in a pool of rank water to write as Mr Dadson has done. Those who have advanced knowledge with regard to bacteria tell us that these germs are of various kinds, that they breed true, and have their special forms, structures, and functions. In truth, Mr Dadson's statements are of such a kind as to contradict and confuse all true science.

If the foundations are of such a kind, what will the superstructure be? What shall we say of his supposition that mechanism can explain the universe? Why, mechanism can never explain anything. And least of all can it explain anything in biology. Why, almost every explanation we obtain from evolutionists is

based not on mechanism but on purpose, and the mechanism is explained by the purpose. Natural selection is purpose. We place side by side two sentences, both for the light they cast on the fact that natural selection is purpose, and for the light they cast on the method of Mr Dadson. The first is a quotation from Dr Romanes : "Natural selection preserves the life of the individual only in so far as this is conducive to that of the species. Wherever the life-interests of the individual clash with those of the species, that individual is sacrificed in favour of others who happen better to subserve the interests of the species." Could there be a better illustration of the fact that life is not mechanical, not urged on by pressure from behind, but beckoned on towards the fulfilment of a purpose. Mr Dadson quotes with approval the foregoing sentence, and on the same page he states : "In every case the advantages developed by the struggle for life are subservient to the interests of the individual ; and in no single instance will any changes occur which are not useful in some way or other." We leave him to reconcile the two statements.

It is not necessary for us to examine the crude materialism of the chapter on the soul ; nor to criticise that on the "Evolution of religious ideas." Of the last we may say that it is based altogether on Herbert Spencer's ghost theory, which at the utmost can explain only certain aspects of religious belief. When Dr Dadson passes on to history, and writes on "Jesus," "Pre-Christian Civilisation," "Decadence of Rome," and then proceeds to deal with the history of Christianity from its origin to the present day, we read his chapters with ever increasing surprise. He makes no reference to the vast literature which has grown up in recent years with regard to the origin and early history of Christianity. He seems to have read Strauss and Renan, and that is all. He has not studied the works in which scientific writers have striven to set forth the historical, the political, the social, and religious conditions of the times in which Christianity has its origin. The inquiries also into the documents on which Christianity is based have had apparently no interest for him. Nor has he made himself acquainted with the literature of comparative religion. But enough. Books like the one before us are the cause of the quarrel between science and religion. The masters in science and in theology do not quarrel, and true science has never been adverse to religion. Theology has always been able to assimilate the results of science. Whenever science has been able to disclose order, then theology has been able to discern God. Mr Dadson seems to share the delusion, which, indeed, is somewhat common, that theology has no interest in law, and has an aversion to order. He seems to think that a personal will must mean caprice, and he speaks of the "scientific conception of modern times

as opposed to the anthropological ideas of the theologians, that a personal will directly superintends every event however small." If he gave himself time to think, he might come to see that there is no contrariety between the ideas of a personal will and of law and order. Will may no doubt be arbitrary, capricious, uncertain, but will may also be rational, steadfast, sure. A rational, intelligent will, as the source of law and order, is a proposition which even Mr Dadson might understand, and if he did he would have before him one of the essential assumptions of theology.

JAMES IVERACH.

The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170.

By W. M. Ramsay, M.A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen. With Maps and Illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 8vo, pp. xvi. 494. Price 12s.

PROFESSOR RAMSAY delivered a course of lectures under the above title at the Summer School of Theology (1892), in the Mansfield College, Oxford, which, with some material additions, form the second and principal part of the handsome volume lying before us. His lectures constituted a brilliant feature in a very attractive and successful programme. Their delivery was in itself enough to give distinction to the theological reunion inaugurated by Dr Fairbairn. In its extended form, Mr Ramsay's work is the richest contribution made by any living English writer to our knowledge of the Christian origins. No small part of the mantle of Lightfoot and Hatch has fallen on the shoulders of the Aberdeen professor, and he adds to the historical science and critical skill acquired from such masters attainments peculiar to himself and of the rarest order.

Professor Ramsay has broken fresh ground for the student. He supplies us with new data, almost with a new apparatus. The historico-grammatical method to which we are accustomed becomes, in his hands, a geographico-historico-critical method. A finished classical scholar, he has proved himself besides a geographer and explorer of the first rank, equally at home with the spade and with the pen, in the lecture-room of the University and amongst the ruined cities of the East. Instead of commentaries built upon commentaries, and criticism threshing out tediously the results of criticism thrice threshed out already, here is a scholarship which has touched mother earth and drawn fresh life from the contact. Stay-at-home readers, confined by the chain of circumstance to what he calls elsewhere "the narrowness" which "limits the study of antiquity to a few great authors," hail the appearance of a book like this with delight. It opens our study windows, and pours a

stream of fresh air into our musty libraries. It brings literary criticism and historical speculation back to the solid ground of nature, and tests them by the enduring landmarks of man's existence on the earth.

Standing on the platform which he has won for himself, Mr Ramsay surveys the problems of New Testament criticism with authority and confidence. The protest of his preface (p. viii.) against the over-abstract and academical methods of prevailing Teutonic schools will be welcome to many who have felt the same thing, but scarcely had the right or the courage to say it: "In investigations into religion, Greek, Roman, and Christian alike, there appears to me, if I may venture to say so, to be in many German scholars (the greatest excepted) a lack of that instinctive sympathy with the life and nature of a people which is essential to the right use of critical processes. For years, with much interest and zeal, but little knowledge, I followed the critics and accepted their results. In recent years, as I came to understand Roman history better, I have realised that, in the case of nearly all the books of the New Testament, it is as great an outrage on criticism to hold them for second century forgeries, as it would be to class the works of Horace and Virgil as forgeries of the time of Nero."

Professor Ramsay's work of research lies scattered in the *Proceedings* and *Reports* of learned Societies—English, Continental, and American. One needs to examine his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (Murray, 1890) in order to appreciate the mass of first-hand observation, and the laboured substructure of knowledge underlying these lucid and vivid historical essays. He has disentangled the network of Persian, Roman, and Byzantine roads, which were the arteries of the peninsula, and furnish the clues to its history; he traces out and follows through their changes the boundaries of the Roman provinces, and the dioceses carved from them by the Church; and he supplies innumerable identifications of ancient sites obtained by the comparison of Byzantine and ecclesiastical records with local examination of monuments and measurement of distances. He knows the country in its historical relations better than any man has done before him—the country which has been the bridge between East and West, the channel by which Christianity passed from Syria into Europe, the theatre of great part of the Acts of the Apostles and of the main developments of Christian life and thought during the first three centuries. It is this unrivalled knowledge of the scene of action which gives to Mr Ramsay his powerful grasp of the questions discussed in the present volume.

Chapters IX.-XVII. (reproducing the Mansfield Lectures) expound the relations of Church and Empire as they existed down to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It was the Flavian dynasty (69-96 A.D.), he argues, which declared Christianity illegal and made its suppression a settled aim of imperial policy. Direct evidence of the fact is wanting; but as the author, following Neumann, convincingly shows, it is assumed in the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan on the subject (112 A.D.) that the mere name of Christian is criminal. The Christians "had before this been classed generically as outlaws (*hostes publici*), and enemies to the fundamental principles of society and government, of law and order; and the admission of the name Christian in itself entailed condemnation" (p. 223). On the other hand, the accounts of Nero's persecution go to show that it was at this earlier period not the Name of itself, but (in Tacitus' precise phrase) the *flagitia coherencia nomini* which were the ostensible ground of attack. At the same time, it appears to us likely enough that where legal evidence of crime was wanting, hostile magistrates would quickly discover, even in the earliest period, that Christians could be brought under the law of treason by their refusal to acknowledge the State divinities; and this summary method of dealing with the accused may have been adopted at local tribunals, before it was endorsed by imperial action. Cases of this kind would naturally precede and point the way to the later formal proscription of Christianity.

In the half century between Nero and Trajan a decisive change came about in the procedure of the Government toward Christians. Instead of introducing a new and severer principle, as it has been assumed, the rescript of Trajan mitigates in its application the policy of outlawry now familiar to the Roman administrators. As Mommsen puts it (quoted on p. 269), by the time of the younger Pliny, "the persecution of Christians was a standing thing, as was that of robbers; only such regulations were put into practice at times more gently, or even negligently, at times more strictly." Vespasian, Professor Ramsay conjectures, was the author of this trenchant policy. This Emperor's knowledge of the East, one may suggest, enabled him better to measure the influence of the Christian societies; and the impetus given to the hated sect by the overthrow of Jerusalem aggravated, just at this epoch, the impression of its dangerous character. The persecutions of Nero's time had revealed, at least incidentally, the fact that the new faith was incompatible with the State religion, when on the resettlement of the empire it fell to Vespasian to determine the attitude of Rome towards its professors. The infamy attaching to Domitian as a persecutor and the strong traditions of martyrdom amongst the Roman aristocracy under his reign, in Ramsay's opinion, signalise not the commence-

ment of systematic persecution, but the culmination of the policy which he inherited from his father. Under the liberal rule of Trajan and Hadrian, the proscription of Christianity was not, indeed, abrogated, but enforced reluctantly, and practically suspended in many quarters; and it was then that the Apologists began to raise their voices. The conscientious strictness of Marcus Aurelius and the peculiar turn of his philosophy, coinciding with the recrudescence of popular hatred against Christianity, caused the revival of persecution that took place about the year 170. This was not the adoption of a new policy, but a renewed enforcement of the established policy of the State towards its Christian enemies, which had fallen into abeyance.

In this history of persecution Professor Ramsay finds a criterion for the date and order of early Christian writings. The First Epistle of Peter, *e.g.*, cannot have been written before 70 A.D., as the champions of its authenticity have contended, nor during the first half of the second century, as its impugnors insist; for "it implies relations between Church and State which are later than the Neronian period, but which have only recently begun" (p. 282). The temper of the writer is that of "one whose experience has been gained in the first period of Christianity, in the time of Claudius and Nero, and who is now at the beginning of a new period,"—who writes, *i.e.*, in the year 80 or thereabouts. Other features of this Epistle—the diffusion of the Gospel through northern Asia Minor (i. 1), the conception of the scattered Church as "the dispersion" of the people of God, and of Rome as standing for the "Babylon" of the new Israel—point also to the Flavian epoch, to which the Apocalypse of John is referred for similar reasons. Mr Ramsay claims Dr Hort (p. 283) as having favoured the opinion that St Peter was living at Rome so late as 80 A.D. The same criterion verifies the earlier date of the Pastorals (pp. 246-250), along with the other Epistles of Paul, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in all of which we recognise persecution still in its earliest phase.

On pp. 365-374 the author outlines a new theory of the episcopate. His suggestions are extremely interesting, but they need to be more completely developed before we can appreciate their full bearing. In his view, the *episcopus* was primarily a member of the presbyterate told off for some special administrative duty. As churches multiplied and intercourse between them extended, a growing influence accrued to the officer charged with the external relations of the community; his work became increasingly specialised, and his position more commanding. In fact, the foreign secretary gradually overshadowed his colleagues and grew into the prime minister. This, if we understand him rightly, is the process by which Mr Ramsay thinks the monarchical bishop of the second century

blossomed out of the bishop-elder of the first. He does not, however, convince us, any more than did Dr Hatch, that administrative functions weighed with the first churches more heavily than those belonging to worship and edification. It is in the latter that the chief motives determining the development of Church organisation in its primary stages must be sought for. The *pastoral* signification of "episcopos" in the New Testament gives the starting-point for its subsequent history.

The most fascinating chapter in this delightful book is that devoted to the *Acta of Paul and Thekla* (chap. xvi.). It is believed that a genuine narrative of the first century underlies the confused traditional legends about Thekla. By a skilful and happy reconstruction, "The original tale of Thekla" is arrived at, and we read between the lines of Acts xiv. a thrilling episode of St Paul's mission in South Galatia. The substitution of Pisidian for Syrian Antioch rectifies the geography of the story. The "royal road" from Antioch to Lystra, on which "Onesiphorus" of Iconium is related to have met Paul coming from the former place, is discovered by Professor Ramsay to have had a real existence under that name in the first century, though it was soon afterwards disused and forgotten (pp. 27-36). Queen Tryphæna turns out to be an actual personage of the time. The charge made against Paul in the case of Thekla, and the conduct of the latter throughout the proceedings, when stripped of embellishments and accretions, are wonderfully true to the situation. "Finally, we consider that the easiest supposition is that Thekla was a real person, and her actual fortunes were related by the original author, with perhaps a certain amount of selection and idealisation" (p. 414). This story throws a startling light on the social life and religious ideas of the Pauline mission-field in Asia Minor; and the discussion is an instructive lesson on the growth of Christian legend.

The eight chapters of Part I., bearing the title *St Paul in Asia Minor*, form in reality a separate work, which leads up to the Mansfield Lectures, but is even more original and important. It is the commentary of a traveller and antiquarian on the Acts of the Apostles. We must confine our attention to that one of the author's conclusions which seems to us to be seriously questionable, expressing only by a word our admiration of the brilliant ability of his arguments and elucidations, and our gratitude for the flood of light that he throws on the field of Paul's missionary journeys and on the historical aspect and characteristics of Acts xiii.-xxi. His theory respecting the documentary sources of the Acts one would prefer to see worked out in detail, before discussing it. He convinces us that the historian has incorporated a substantial "Travel Document," but the boundary lines of this docu-

ment are not defined. And the conjecture that chap. xv. 1-33 has been transposed with chaps. xiii., xiv., is one that requires to be thought out and tested upon many sides.

On the question of the locality of St Paul's "Galatians," Mr Ramsay has shaken but not overthrown our prepossession in favour of Galatia proper. He warmly espouses the view of Renan and Perrot, previously adopted by Hausrath, Pfeiderer, and Weizsäcker in Germany, that Paul addressed in his epistle the churches founded by himself and Barnabas at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, on the first missionary tour. This assumption simplifies the movements of the Apostle, and the relations of the Galatian epistle to the Acts. "The churches of Galatia," which filled so large a place in St Paul's thoughts and cares, are found to have a corresponding place in the apostolic history, and are situated on the main line of Paul's journeyings, near to the high road from Syria to the west. On the ordinary, North Galatian theory, the establishment of these churches is only hinted at in Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23; there is no intimation of the considerable period that Paul must have spent in this district, nor of his peculiar attachment to his converts there. North Galatia was separated by distance and physical barriers from the other Pauline mission-fields, and lies off the track of Christian progress and intercourse in the first generation. These presumptions in favour of South Galatia Professor Ramsay strengthens by his decisive proof that *all* the cities of Acts xiii. 14—xiv. 23 were included at this date within the province of Galatia¹—a circumstance which fell into oblivion from the time when, in the second century, the Lycaonian district was severed from Galatia. In the first century "Galatians" was the proper term, and, indeed, the only term by which the inhabitants of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe could be addressed in common. On the authority of Lightfoot, Professor Ramsay assumes that τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (the correct reading of Acts xvi. 6) signifies the country at once Phrygian and Galatian; and this, he justly infers, could be none other than the district of which Antioch was capital,—the south-western corner of Roman Galatia, upon the Pisidian border, or *Phrygia Galatica*. Moreover, Acts xvi. 6-8 appears to describe a single and direct journey from South Galatia to Troas, which would take the missionaries far, to the west of North Galatia.

We feel the strength of this argument, to which our brief abstract does injustice; and we are still more impressed by the force of the

¹ It is unfortunate that in the map of Asia Minor given in Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Eng. ed.), the boundaries of Galatia are so drawn as to exclude Antioch and the whole south-west of the province.

author's convictions on the matter, knowing the ground so perfectly as he does. But certain obstinate questions recur on the other side, which we will state here as adequately as space allows.

(1.) As to the *date* of the Epistle to the Galatians.—Professor Ramsay ranges it with 1 and 2 Thessalonians, in the first group of the Epistles, as having been written before the third missionary journey, at the commencement of which Paul traversed South Galatia (*ex hypothesi*) a third time; for when he wrote this letter, it appears that he had visited his readers only *twice*. But if internal evidence can prove anything, this Epistle is neighbour to the Epistle to the Romans and belongs to the second group. The train of ideas, the cast of expression, the mental attitude and environment, the development of doctrine, the whole complexion and construction of the two Epistles, go to prove that they originated at the same epoch and are, so to speak, the offspring of one birth. Lightfoot's conclusion that Galatians came in order of time between 2 Corinthians and Romans, will not be easily set aside. To mention the Epistle to the Philippians in this connexion is only to remind us how greatly St Paul's manner and turn of thought altered in a few years. Philippians looks back to Romans from a distance, while Galatians borders it all along the line.

(2.) In regard to *Barnabas*.—The difficulty that arises here Mr Ramsay does not notice; it may seem of small account. But remembering that Barnabas was the joint-founder, with Paul, of the South Galatian Churches, and in the character of principal rather than assistant, we naturally ask how the Apostle came to assume sole authority over these communities, and how he could write to them without any apparent consciousness of the fact that they had another master in Christ beside himself? This is the more surprising when we consider his delicacy of feeling on this point, and his scorn for those who "stretch themselves overmuch" and "build on another man's foundation;" above all, when we observe the position of Barnabas in the Judaistic controversy,—a circumstance that must have caused Paul extreme embarrassment in dealing with churches owing allegiance to both in common. Barnabas is thrice mentioned in the narrative part of the letter, but quite incidentally, without a syllable to betray his connexion with the readers. We cannot but think that the name of his fellow-missionary would have played a very different part in any such Epistle as this, addressed by St Paul to South Galatia.

(3.) We admit that the *Gallic features* discovered by the commentators in Paul's "foolish Galatians" afford a precarious ground of identification. On the other hand, one may ask what the Churches stretching from Pisidian Antioch to Derbe could have had in common, beyond the fact that they were situated in the same

Roman province and founded upon the same journey by Barnabas and Paul? Allowing that St Paul regularly uses the provincial names in their Roman signification, is there not, after all, something strained and artificial in addressing the Christians of these outlying frontier towns, with their Phrygian and Lycaonian peoples, as "the Churches of Galatia?"

(4.) The discussion of *Acts xvi. 6, 7, and xviii. 23*, awakens misgivings. Is it certain that τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, in the first of these passages means, "the Phrygo-Galatic territory," —i.e., the country both Phrygian and Galatian? On p. 78 Professor Ramsay says: "Lightfoot has correctly seen that this is the only possible sense of the Greek words as they are now read." Lightfoot sees, in point of fact, that these Greek words have two possible senses. He writes, on p. 20 of his Commentary on Galatians: "The expression used in the Acts . . . shows that the district intended was . . . some region which might be said to belong either to Phrygia or Galatia, or the parts of each contiguous to the other" (the italics are ours). And on p. 22, which Mr Ramsay cites, Lightfoot, while preferring the former explanation, still keeps the alternative possibility before his mind. The single definite article may just as well embrace two contiguous regions forming the area of a single journey or mission, as it might denote the same region defined by two different epithets. Thus, in 1 Thessalonians i. 8, ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Ἀχαΐᾳ signifies the two provinces conjointly, not the same province under two names. The presumption surely is that the co-ordinate adjectives *Phrygian* and *Galatian* bear the like (ethnic) sense. At best "Phrygian and Galatian country" would be an awkward and ambiguous synonym for Galatian Phrygia. If any one said that he had "travelled through the Polish and Russian territory," we should be surprised to learn that he meant only "through Russian Poland!"

Mr Ramsay brushes away somewhat lightly the obstacle presented to him by the grammar of *Acts xvi. 6*. "It has been contended that the participle κωλυθέντες gives the reason for the finite verb διηλθον, and is therefore preliminary to it in the sequence of time. We reply that the participial construction cannot, in this author, be pressed in that way. He is often loose in the framing of his sentences, and in the long sentence in verses 6 and 7 he varies the succession of verbs by making some of them participles" (p. 89). We know no reason for ascribing to the author this particular laxity, or anything resembling it. Winer says, on p. 443 of his *New Testament Grammar* (English Translation): "In the New Testament we have not a single certain example of this kind." Besides, verses 6 and 7 form a chain of sentences as brief and regular in structure as any one could wish. Between the aorist

participle and the foregoing verb there intervene but six words, containing a single phrase.

The principal verb of the above passage, *διέρχουμαι*, has a greater latitude of meaning than is allowed for. It is not restricted to the sense of *travelling through*, or *going across* (in a straight line), as seems to be assumed; but means also *to traverse* or *travel over* a place, as, *e.g.*, in Acts xx. 2, where the comprehensive phrase *διελθὼν τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα* covers many months of travelling, and includes, as we gather from Rom. xv. 19, a long missionary excursion to Illyricum, from which Paul returned to pursue his way to Corinth. If the historian wished to say, as briefly as possible, that Paul and his companions, when they were brought to a stand on the borders of Asia, took the occasion to complete their tour of the Phrygian and Galatian land, part of which they had already evangelised, and issuing from this region in the direction of Mysia, were led forward to Troas, instead of entering Bithynia, as at that juncture they proposed to do,—if this were the picture of St Paul's movements that he had in his mind, he could not have expressed himself more correctly than he does in Acts xvi. 6-8. For the *diffusive* sense of *διέρχουμαι* (to go abroad, traverse at large), compare Acts viii. 4; x. 38; xvii. 23; xx. 25; Rom. v. 12. The verb probably has the like emphasis, implying a complete visitation, in Acts xix. 1; xx. 2; and in 1 Cor. xvi. 5.

Acts xviii. 23 adds to the difficulties of the South Galatian hypothesis. If "the Phrygian and Galatian country" appears a doubtful equivalent for Phrygia Galatica, to call the same region shortly afterwards "the Galatian country and Phrygian (*or* Phrygia)" is stranger still. If the writer meant, as Professor Ramsay thinks, "the Galatian country, part of which was Phrygian," or "the Galatian country, with Phrygia beyond it," his meaning is anything but clear; and it is hard to see why he employs this obscure designation for the South Galatian cities, familiar to his readers under their proper names. In any case, the verse shows that the author was aware of the existence of a number of Pauline churches in the region now traversed. When a traveller speaks at one time of his having "journeyed through the Polish and Russian country," and then on a later occasion of "the Russian country and Poland (*or* Polish)," our presumption that in the first instance he referred to two related and adjoining regions is confirmed; and we should understand him to mean, beyond a doubt, that he had on the former journey entered by the Polish side, and on the latter by the Russian.

Amongst other considerations which make us hesitate to follow Professor Ramsay here, are the appearance of *Pontus* along with Galatia, Asia, and Bithynia in the greeting of 1 Peter (whose early

date he so powerfully defends), indicating that the gospel was planted in North Asia Minor almost as soon as in the South; and the great importance (great though secondary) which attached to the ancient trade route from the Syrian Gates to the Euxine (pp. 10, 11). Add to this, the unlikelihood of Paul's following three times the same beaten track across the peninsula, without making an effort to reach the vast and interesting regions north of the road to Ephesus; and the still greater unlikelihood of his claiming at the end of his third journey to "have fulfilled the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum" (Rom. xv. 19), while half Asia Minor remained untouched and untrodden by him; and finally, the apostle's habit of making for the capital of each province which he evangelised—a rule that would have led him on the second journey from Pisidian Antioch speedily to Ancyra, if he had not been at that time bent on entering Asia. When his westward march was arrested after leaving Antioch, and while still in Phrygia, he would naturally gravitate toward the chief Galatian cities, and would endeavour to complete his work in the country along whose southern frontier he had hitherto moved.

The volume is excellently printed and illustrated. To the list of errata there should be added for "*Iconium*" read "*Antioch*" on p. 397, l. 1. Also, we observe that in the very valuable map of Asia Minor attached to the book, Lystra appears on the south bank of its river, while the text expressly fixes it on the north. On p. 47, Karalis is said to be "the largest (lake) in Asia Minor." But Lake Tatta is much larger in Professor Ramsay's, as in other maps. Should we read: "the largest fresh-water lake"? And should not "jealous of," on p. 357, l. 14, be "jealous for"?

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The King and the Kingdom: A Study of the Four Gospels.

Williams & Norgate. Three vols. 8vo, pp. 331, 354, 340.

Price 3s. 6d. each.

THIS is an anonymous work, extending to more than a thousand closely printed pages. Each volume, or series as it is called, is stated to be "complete in itself"; that is, as we suppose, any purchaser who is content with an exposition of something like a third of the "continuous history" of the Gospels will find complete indexes for all three volumes at the end of each, and, at the beginning of each, an identical preface indicating the "spirit and scope of the investigation." According to this preface, the aim of the work is to restore to the Gospel of Christ some of the "freshness and

power" which has been crushed out of it by the "pressure of systematised theology," and to disburden traditional interpretation of that "definiteness which did not exist in the teaching of Jesus." But let the nervous reader be at once reassured: this bold declaration of policy need not in the least alarm him. Unless he be a sacerdotalist, or a firm-fisted capitalist, or a stern political economist, he will find nothing to shock him; unless he be a scholar, or a stylist, or an exacting exegete, he will find little to irritate him; unless he pine for concentration and form and general readableness, his patience will not be severely tried. The author is no sworn enemy of the supernatural, for he accepts the miraculous conception, the divinity of Christ, and the marvellous works. He is no belittler of the chroniclers; for he believes that they possessed "the inspiration of a truthful spirit and of a clear intellect," and that "they must have had infinitely better means of arriving at the facts than can be claimed by any investigator after the lapse of eighteen centuries." He is no random critic, for "everything is sought to be taken as it stands, without abatement and without addition," though the author does not set his face as a flint against admissions of misplacement or mistake, for he has no theory of mechanical inspiration. Accordingly, as the reader will perceive, he is no rude iconoclast, though he seeks to "brush away the accretions of centuries." But apart from his unconsciously and temporarily mystifying statement of aim, he is what he professes to be. "Not scholarship," he says, "as may easily be seen, but only earnestness of thought and sincerity of purpose, can be urged in favour of this work."

And hence the book, with all its drawbacks, has its own value. It is pre-eminently a book for purely English readers. They will be grateful for the transliteration of unavoidable Greek into English, and for the translation of every barbarous quotation into their own language. They alone can fully appreciate the information, "*ek* and *ex* are identical, the latter form being used before a vowel." They alone can be victimised when they are told that *ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν* in Mark xii. 25 "is not 'when they shall have risen.'" They will not be harassed by independent and venturesome discussions of the original; for the author almost invariably bows before the "literal and idiomatic translation" of the Bible by Dr Robert Young; while his subsidiary books of reference, as catalogued at the commencement of each volume, are—The Tauchnitz (English) edition of the New Testament, the translations of the New Testament by Alford and Dr Samuel Davidson, and of the Bible by Sharpe, along with the Englishman's Greek New Testament, and the Englishman's Concordance. The only philological discussion of any serious length is to be found in an appendix, where the author candidly and rather wearisomely presents and combats the objec-

tions strongly urged by the "able and scholarly critic" (likewise anonymous), who revised his proof sheets, against the acceptance of Dr Young's (and Luther's) translation of *μὴν σαββάτων* in Matt. xxviii. 1, by "the first of the Sabbaths." And the critic, like most other critics in this case, is obviously right.

The author's method is that of a combination and continuous exposition of the Gospels, intermingled with remarks and digressions. The form is not attractive and the treatment is not always lucid. The page is often overloaded with various renderings and explanations, many of which are scarcely diverse enough to be worth mentioning, and which might well give place, not unfrequently, to a clear and concentrated statement of the author's own view. For the most part he does not, in the end, leave the reader in doubt what his own view is, and then he often expounds it with considerable force. Clearly and forcibly, for instance, does he maintain that fasting must be natural or not at all: that some one day in seven is designed to be a time of rest; that seeking God's righteousness involves compliance with *all* His laws; that the "service" of God is justice and mercy and not hymns and prayers. But sometimes it is really difficult to fix him to a definite opinion. For example, in discussing the words of Jesus to the paralytic, "Thy sins are forgiven," he says, "The deliverance from his infirmity was *one and the same* with the forgiveness of his sins." But in the next sentence he says, "Forgiveness . . . must *include* the actual remission of the penal consequences of the sin." And again, elsewhere, we meet with the same variation. "What is forgiveness of sin? Is it not the deliverance of the sinner from the penal consequences of sin?" A few pages previously, however, we find: "The forgiveness we crave of God *means more* than a change in His attitude towards us: it must *include* the withholding or withdrawal of the punishment due to sin." By which definition does the author stand? His tendency certainly seems to be towards making forgiveness and remission of penalty absolutely convertible terms. It is to this tendency that we owe such questionable teaching as the following: "A sin may be [humanly] forgiven, in the full and proper sense of the remission of the penalty, by the voluntary intervention and power of a person not otherwise concerned in the sin and its effects"; and then Christ's forgiveness of the paralytic is made "precisely" parallel to that of a physician who "remits the penalty,—in other words, forgives the sin"—of a would-be suicide by stopping the flow of blood from his self-inflicted wound. But is not the author bound in consistency to go a step further and affirm that a libertine who checks the consequences of sensual indulgence by hunting three days a week, so far forgives *himself*? Further, when the same tendency leads the writer to say, "No sin is ever

forgiven unless *every remaining penalty* attaching to that sin is removed," he brings himself into collision with many earnest Christians who think that sins, like burns, though healed, leave scars; and that a man who commits a sin can never afterwards be quite the same man as he would have been if he had not committed it. The author's conception of forgiveness (if we understand it) appears to require recasting. It is alike too narrow and too sweeping; too narrow in omitting the personal relation; too sweeping in annihilating all conceivable consequences.

The teaching on the resurrection is similarly variable and at times questionable. He considers resurrection to be a natural transformation of the righteous into a higher state of being, taking place coincidently with death. That there is no such thing as a disembodied spirit or an intermediate state, he holds to be proved by Christ's argument based upon the patriarchs as *living*, that is, raised, resuscitated, and by the living presence of Moses and Elias on the mount of transfiguration. Consequently, he does not believe in a universal resurrection at a given time, that is, at the last day. And hence he is driven to explain, "I will raise him up in the last day" as referring to some second resurrection subsequent to what he calls, with Dr Young, "the life age-during." The bodily resurrection of Jesus he fully accepts; but it is no guarantee of ours. With Alford, he believes that Christ's resurrection body had flesh and bones but no blood. "As a matter of fact, the body was drained upon the cross by the final spear thrust." "The *pneuma* of Jesus took up and reanimated His earthly form, but the natural, corporeal life which is contingent upon the presence and circulation of the blood was wholly laid aside: the material frame was there, no longer vivified and energised by blood, but by water and spirit, and therefore no longer subject to the limitations attaching to a merely natural body." So, as it seems, we must conclude that *all* the water did not flow out with the blood; and also that though flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, flesh and bones can, when duly affected by water and spirit. As to *our* bodies, we are to be "as the angels," and that immediately after death. Finally, what the author offers as an exposition of "the resurrection of judgment," it is really impossible to understand.

In the midst of much that is excellent and irreproachable in interpretation, there are many curiosities and eccentricities. To "fast twice in the week" is to "abstain from two meals on the Sabbath." "I go to prepare a place for you" is "I go to provide an appointed work for you in the world after your Master has left you." "Lead us not into temptation" is a prayer in accordance with the Father's will, which is *never* to lead us into temptation. The apparently imprudent commands in the Sermon on the Mount,

"impossible to put into general practice," are counsels of perfection for *disciples*, but not for *believers*: between these two classes the author draws a marked distinction: "the sheep and the shepherds cannot stand on the same level."

Many readers, however, will forgive the confusions and the eccentricities for the sake of the digressions dealing with the adaptation of Christ's teaching to modern life. Here the writer, though not always forsaken by his diffuseness and his eccentricity, is often at his best, and is rarely uninteresting. His instincts are sound, his sympathies are inspiring, his suggestions are for the most part sober and practical. No problem of modern civilisation comes amiss to him. He advocates profit-sharing and co-operation as remedies for the disputes between capital and labour, and as supplanters of dispensaries, asylums, orphanages, and charities of all kinds; certificates of attainment as an antidote to the evils of emulation as fostered by prize-giving, marks and competitive lists of honours; a study of the harmonies of nature as an object lesson against the fashionable abnormities in dress; one day of complete rest every week as the birthright of all and as a boon especially advantageous to the "neglected class of domestic servants." He lays special stress upon the urgent necessity of attempting to put in practice one of Christ's most universally ignored injunctions, pressing for the establishment of national and local Christian courts of arbitration, with no force behind them but that of Christian public opinion. The gossiping elaborateness of some of his proposals occasionally calls up a smile; as when he formulates a placard of "Household rules for the Sabbath," beginning, "Every servant in this house is entitled to—and is expected to take—one day's REST each week." But the smile will never be a smile of contempt.

Our readers will gather that the quality of the book is considerably mixed. But it contains much that is suggestive and profitable, and the reasonableness, broadmindedness, and sympathy of an enlightened Christian spirit are continually coming into view.

JOHN MASSIE.

The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.

By A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893. Third Edition. Pp. 548. Price 12s.

It is a great task that Principal Fairbairn has undertaken in this work, requiring very large resources of Biblical scholarship, historical and theological knowledge, mature reflection on the profoundest subjects of thought, and calm judgment on varying opinions. Yet

it is not an ultraneous or superfluous undertaking, but one both timely and necessary, for it grapples with the great theological problem that is presented to the Christianity of to-day, and the solution of which is a matter of urgent and vital necessity. That problem is, what modifications, if any, the intellectual expressions of Christianity in the doctrinal systems of the Churches should receive, in view of the revived historical knowledge of Jesus, and sense of the central place which He should of right occupy in our thoughts of God. That there has been in recent years such a recovery of the knowledge of and sense for the historical Christ, that He is now really known better than in any age since His own, is briefly shown by Principal Fairbairn in his introduction, and that this raises the question whether the interpretations of Christianity, which were constructed when the actual life of Him who is its life was less known and studied, can now be considered satisfactory, cannot be doubted. To answer this question by a full consideration of how the theological systems of Christendom came to be, and how a due appreciation of the historical Christ requires their doctrines to be conceived, is the arduous undertaking of this work ; and it is very high, but thoroughly deserved, praise to say that it is worthy of its great theme.

The plan of the book is simple and comprehensive. It consists of a historical and a theological part, the former first tracing the growth of the theology of the Churches, and then the rise and progress of the criticism by which a return to Christ has been made necessary ; and the latter considering how the New Testament interprets Christ, and then how this historical interpretation determines the theology. No less comprehensive a plan would do justice to the problem dealt with in this work, for there can be no fair or true criticism of the old systems of theology without an understanding of how these systems came into existence. The first, or historical and critical, part of the work provides in a very lucid way this necessary preliminary to reconstruction, and it is of itself a valuable contribution to the history of doctrine, giving a clear idea of the nature of development in this department, and of the fact that it started, not from the apostolic teaching, which was not understood by the Fathers, but from what he calls the vulgar and mixed tradition of the commonalty of Christians. This was due, he shows, largely to the fact that Christianity, though born in a Jewish environment, had soon to change its home, so that "its cradle ceased to be its nursery." There is great fairness as well as lucidity in the outline of the successive stages and forms of Christian theology in the two great divisions of the Greek and the Western Church ; and these are illustrated by sketches of the character and views of the great teachers who at various points exercised determining

influence. Dr Fairbairn has a remarkable gift of happy characterisation, often hitting off, by a fitting epithet or epigrammatic saying the essential meaning of a man or a principle. This makes this part of his work read almost with the interest of a drama or romance, at least until its course leads us into the depths of German philosophy, which is to many a slough of despond.

The treatment of Augustine, however, seems to me hardly adequate, and lacking in the sympathetic appreciation that is so striking in regard to other great theologians; and while it is very different from the caricatures of some modern writers, it is inferior in fairness to the masterly estimate of Harnack. It is no doubt true and important to signalise the incongruity between Augustine's theological doctrines of sin and grace and his ecclesiastical and ritual system; but Dr Fairbairn does not indicate the immense advance of the former in spirituality over the Alexandrian theology, which is recognised by Dr Bigg in his Bampton Lectures on "The Christian Platonists of Alexandria"; and I do not know what justification there is for saying that "the dualism that was native to his soul is inherent in his system" (p. 115), or that the forms under and within which his intellect worked were Manichean (*ib.*). It may indeed be held, as was argued by Isaac Taylor in his "Ancient Christianity," that the whole theology of the fourth and fifth centuries, Eastern as well as Western, was tainted with Manicheism; but that was not a fault peculiar to Augustine, and in his views of sin after his conversion, we see the most anxious care to exclude the notion of moral evil having any positive existence that would imply a source independent of God, the one Creator of all that is. This notion is what is usually understood by Dualism; but the term seems to be employed by some modern writers in some different sense, which I do not understand; and if Dr Fairbairn uses it so, he may be right, though I do not know what he means.¹ He is also a somewhat severe critic of Anselm's theory of the atonement, but his account of the Reformers is most admirable, and the section on "Calvin and Geneva" (pp. 143-151) is about the best description and estimate I have ever read of that Reformer and his work—a just and life-like picture, pervaded with heartfelt sympathy for all that was noble and godly in that great subject. There follows an account of the genesis and characteristics of the post-Reformation theology, in the Roman, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Anglican schools, of which space will not permit a detailed criticism here; and then it is shown how it had resulted from this long historical development, that the

¹ In a later part of his work Dr Fairbairn uses the term "dualism" (p. 210) in another sense, to denote the antithesis to the Pantheistic doctrine of the absolute identity of all things; but I cannot believe that he reckons dualism in this sense as an error in Augustine.

person of Christ had come to be viewed in an abstract and un-historical way, rather as an inference from certain doctrines than as the living reality that underlies all properly Christian doctrine. While the Church conceived of Christ thus, the great philosophical movement of thought, that began with Kant and ended with Hegel, endeavoured to explain Christ through speculative forms of thought, which at bottom were Pantheistic. This attempt ultimately foundered on the rock of the historical Jesus, who has come to be known, in the light of contemporary history and literature, more clearly and truly than at any time since His own age; and this has made what is called "the return to Christ" as necessary as it is welcome. If Christian theology is to be maintained, we cannot simply fall back on the methods of the old systems, but must unfold the substantial truth contained in them on a more historical basis, and so as to give the person and the teaching of Jesus a more central and commanding place.

Having thus shown the existence and the reason of the need of a reconstruction of Christian theology, Dr Fairbairn proceeds to the second, or constructive, part of his work; and the next step in his great undertaking is to set forth the apostolic conception of Christ, as that may be gathered from the various writings of the New Testament. Beginning with the epistles of Paul, which are the most certainly genuine and, as he thinks, the earliest of these, and taking next that to the Hebrews, those of James and Peter, with the Apocalypse, then the Synoptic Gospels, and lastly the Fourth, he gives a brief but lucid analysis of the Christology of each. From this he advances to Jesus' own teaching about Himself, as contained in His discourses, and shows that this is the source from which all the apostolic presentations, with their various aspects, have come. A certain difference is recognised, which is of some importance afterwards. "The constitutive ideas were His, but the constructive endeavour theirs; with Him all is spontaneous, the expression of an intuitive or immediate consciousness; with them all is reflective, the expression of a mediative consciousness, using the methods of a more or less explicit dialectic" (p. 373). Then follows a very valuable section (pp. 377-84), in which it is shown that this apostolic interpretation of Jesus, though absolutely opposed to all the philosophy and science of the time, has been proved by the whole history of Christianity, and by its present power and life as a religion, to be the true one. Thus there is sketched, in broad and bold outline, a form of Christian evidence that is well suited to the thought and need of the present day, and may afford a basis on which a reconstruction of Christian doctrine may be built.

It may be suitable to refer now to an assumption, that from this point influences the subsequent course of argument, though it is not

explicitly mentioned till a later stage (p. 450), "that our formal source is the consciousness of Christ." "In order to it, the Scriptures are necessary, but as a medium or channel which conducts to the source, not as the source itself. They testify of Christ, are His witnesses: but it is as witnesses that they are essential, and their value is in proportion to their veracity."¹ This is an important modification of the Protestant position that Scripture is the formal principle of theology; and if it is to be accepted, it would need to be not merely assumed, but proved. But while it is true that the consciousness of Christ, as known through His teaching, must be the chief and normative principle in our interpretation of Scripture, it seems to me that His own acknowledgment of the authority of the Old Testament, His promises to His apostles, and their claims to speak with His authority, require us to hold by the old Protestant principle, though we must abandon the mechanical and doctrinaire way in which it was often applied. More particularly, this limitation of the source of Christian theology seems to prevent Dr Fairbairn doing full justice to the Scriptures and religion of the Old Testament. It is surely an exaggeration to say that before Christ there was no real Monotheism, even in Israel, but only Henotheism (p. 379); for if the teaching of the prophets is not Monotheism, I know not what is. I thoroughly agree indeed that the Christian Trinity is the only conception of God that perfectly excludes both Deism and Pantheism, and I cannot follow those who have found Trinitarianism in the Old Testament. But we have there the germ of that doctrine, and a view of God as truly ethical as the Christian doctrine requires. How otherwise could the Psalms of Israel be used as an expression of Christian devotion? In a subsequent passage (p. 454), there is a similar exaggeration, to say the least, in the statement regarding Judaism, that "there was too little of the spirit and the truth in its Deity to enable it to comprehend the awful idea of sin." It is of great importance in this connection to recognise the difference, too often overlooked, between the genuine religion of the Law and the Prophets, and the Pharisaic Judaism of our Lord's time, which was as much a corruption of the former as Romanism is of genuine Christianity; and the especial study of the later Jewish religion, which is needful to elucidate the origins of Christianity, has tended to throw into the shade the organic connection of the New Testament with the Old, and the fact that Jesus and His apostles recognised its Divine authority, and appealed from the law as interpreted by Rabbinic tradition to the law as truly understood and really meant by God.

¹ Surely "veracity" is an ill-chosen word here, as if any writing worthy of being called Scripture could be defective in love of truth.

The positive reconstruction of theology, for which all that has preceded is the preparation, is a masterly piece of work, showing great dialectic and systematic power, and deserving the attention of all students of the subject. The starting point is Christ's own conception of God, whom He habitually calls His Father, or the Father, at the same time asserting Himself to be one with the Father in a unique relation of mutual knowledge and love. This, along with His teaching about the Holy Spirit, is the basis of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity; but to be true to the consciousness of Christ, this must be conceived, not in the merely metaphysical manner prevalent in the Greek Church, but as revealing God to be eternally and essentially love in actual exercise. This revealed aspect of the divine Being Dr Fairbairn designates "the Godhead," as distinguished from the simple name God, which he uses to denote Him in His external relations, and as known by nature. Such a construction of the doctrine of the Trinity is not of course original; but it is the one most true to New Testament teaching; and this exposition of it is eminently clear, sober, and convincing. The conception of God thus gained is peculiarly an ethical one, making the essence of Deity to consist, not in metaphysical attributes, such as self-existence, or absolute dominion, but in the perfection of moral qualities; and the task of Dr Fairbairn's reconstruction is, as he himself puts it, completely to "ethicise" the notion of God, and to carry out this to all its legitimate consequences. He first applies Christ's revelation of the Godhead to natural theology, and shows very well how the conception of God as love throws light on some of the mysteries of Creation and Providence; and then he proceeds to employ it to alter or explode some of the views of dogmatic theology, especially what he calls the forensic or juridical conception of God, which he finds in modern theology in two forms, the Catholic and the Calvinistic. By this in the latter of these forms he means the position to state and defend which the late Dr Candlish, he says, made the last serious attempt, viz., "that God's fundamental and primary relation to man was that of Creator and Governor," and "that His rule and government must be in the proper forensic sense legal and judicial" (p. 432). His attempt to refute this, however, I cannot but consider as a mere verbal criticism on the possible meanings of the phrase "legal sovereignty," while he might have seen that Dr Candlish did not mean either of the things he puts as alternatives, but government by moral law to which penalties are attached, the moral government which Butler proves in his Analogy. Dr Fairbairn's conclusion is that "there is no absolute antithesis between sovereignty and paternity; the only perfect form in which we can have either is where we have both" (p. 436). But Dr Candlish would never have contradicted that;

he has elaborately argued for both parts of the proposition in his "Fatherhood of God"; the sole question is, whether this perfect form of paternal sovereignty existed from the beginning in virtue of creation, as Dr Fairbairn holds, or is ultimately attained as the result of God's grace in Christ, as Dr Candlish thought. This question evidently cannot be decided by a simple appeal to Christ's idea of God as essentially love, and to the principle that what He is in the internal relations of the Godhead He must be also in His external relations as God to the creatures. Dr Candlish thoroughly accepted the view of the Trinity as flowing from God being eternally and actively love; and no man ever exhibited more earnestly and fully the love of God as seen in all His dealings with His creatures.

Dr Fairbairn seeks a notion of the Fatherhood of God by conceiving creation as determined by the divine nature, *i.e.*, "the unity which we speak of as the Godhead," in which "Fatherhood and Sonship were essential and immanent, and so the end may be described as the realisation of external relations corresponding to the internal; in other words, the creation of a universe which should be to God as a son, while He was to it as a Father" (pp. 446, 7). This I can quite accept as a true and profound statement; but when he goes on to say, "The universe He thus created is personal and spiritual, all its units are capable of loving as of being loved; and where such capability exists we can best express the causal relation by the term Paternity, and the created by Sonship" (p. 447); I can but reply, as Dr Candlish did to Dr Crawford's definition, "Such a universal Fatherhood I do not care to call in question." The thing meant is true and important in its own place; but it only amounts to Fatherliness, to use an expressive phrase of M'Leod Campbell, not to Fatherhood in what Dr Fairbairn himself presents as its highest and ideal form, that, namely, in which we are "made partakers of the Spirit of Christ and so qualified for adoption out of the sonship of nature into the sonship of grace" (p. 447). I would cordially accept all that Dr Fairbairn says of the former of these states, the sonship of nature; and the way in which he connects it with the Christian idea of God is a real and valuable contribution to theology, only I would not call such a state sonship; and the argument that in order to be a son by adoption man must previously be a son by nature (p. 390), I can only characterise as a play upon words. Still the difference is not entirely a verbal one, because on the doctrine that all men are sons of God by nature Dr Fairbairn grounds the assertion, that all the sanctions of God's paternal authority are chastisements, and their ultimate aim is to correct and reform (p. 437), a view which most profoundly affects our whole conception of God's dealing with man.

For the decision of the question on which I feel constrained to

differ from Dr Fairbairn, there are just two ways. The most complete would be a thorough examination of the entire teaching of our Lord and His apostles, which is manifestly impossible here. The other is a consideration of how far each view enables us rightly to construe the great doctrines that are acknowledged on all hands to be essentials of Christianity. This Dr Fairbairn's remaining discussions enable us to do in regard to his position, though I would review them not merely for this purpose, but to bring out what is true and excellent in them.

In his chapter on "the Fatherhood and Sin" there is much that is good and valuable. The permission of sin is resolved into the creation of personal and free agents, to whom the possibility of wrong choice must be open; and its universal diffusion in mankind into the unity and solidarity of the race and the principle of heredity, which, along with much benefit, has involved also this great evil on the human family. Then, by an application of Paul's distinction between transgression and sin, it is pointed out, more clearly, I think, than has been done before, that the inherited sin of the nature does not involve personal culpability, except in so far as it becomes transgression by the consent of the will; and thus a foundation is laid for believing that all who die in infancy are saved, without denying their sin and need of redemption. I am not sure, however, that there is an adequate recognition of the intensity of man's native depravity as needing a divine power to overcome it; and consequently I cannot but think that the mysterious and awful problem of the origin and prevalence of evil is too easily solved, although, doubtless, the points so clearly brought out by Dr Fairbairn are those that must be appealed to as going a certain length towards its solution.

The next subject dealt with is Soteriology, and here the exposition of the Incarnation is most excellent, and the conception of the essence of the Godhead consisting of moral, and not merely metaphysical, attributes, is applied with good effect to illustrate the humiliation or self-emptying of the Son of God; but the treatment of the atonement does not seem to me to do complete justice to the teaching of our Lord and His apostles. Holding, as before said, that the aim of divine punishment is the moral recovery and improvement of sinners, Dr Fairbairn is constrained to assign to the suffering of Christ a merely subjective purpose. He holds, indeed, that it was necessary, in order to the forgiveness of sins, because of the righteousness of God, who must judge sin while He saves the sinner; but this judgment is only the making the sinner himself feel the terrible evil of sin. That this is one end served by the sacrifice of Christ is undoubtedly true; but most Biblical theologians have thought that this alone cannot afford a fair explanation

of many of the statements of the New Testament, about Christ giving Himself a ransom for many, our being bought with a price, and the like. One of these passages, Gal. iii. 13, Dr Fairbairn interprets thus: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law"; certainly, but this was the law which the Jew loved, and which was thus for ever abolished, not the universal law of God. He became "a curse for us," certainly, but under the same law, for by it He was "hanged upon a tree." "But the law that thus judged Him condemned itself; by cursing Him it became accursed. His death was not the vindication but the condemnation of the law" (pp. 480, 1; *cf.* p. 317). This is to me a most incredible exposition, suggested by nothing in the context, and contrary to Paul's ideas, for nowhere does he ever speak of the law being accursed, condemned, or abolished. It reminds one of some of the forms of the Patristic notion of a ransom to Satan, according to which the Adversary, by unjustly condemning the Sinless one, lost his power over sinners. It seems to me, therefore, that a doctrine of universal fatherhood which implies that all punishment is chastisement for the offender's good, is shown to be inadequate by its inability to rise above a subjective view of the sacrifice of Christ.

The work of the Spirit is illustrated chiefly in connection with the doctrine of Revelation and Inspiration on the one hand, and that of the Church on the other; and of both Dr Fairbairn has given a most admirable exposition. More especially in regard to the former, he has shown most clearly and convincingly how the principles of the Reformation both require us to give free scope to criticism, higher as well as lower, and also secure us against the dangers apprehended to arise from that, by making the authority of Scripture depend on the inward working of the Spirit in us who read and hear the Word, as well as in those who were inspired to write it. His discussion of the Church is also excellent and timely. I am struck, however, by the absence of any explicit reference to regeneration, which is so prominent an idea in the teaching of Christ and His apostles. It is not very easy to harmonise their sayings about our being begotten again, born of God, and the like, with a universal fatherhood by creation; and while I have no doubt that Dr Fairbairn recognises the need of the gracious and powerful work of the Holy Spirit, to enable us to receive Christ by faith, his view of the essential freedom of man requires the belief that the deciding act in conversion is our own will (p. 462). I prefer to apply to the will of man under the influence of the Spirit of God the distinction, which in a previous place (p. 413) he admirably puts in reference to God, between physical necessity and moral need, and so to believe, that when God is pleased to put forth His regenerating power, He effectually determines sinners freely to

choose Christ as their Saviour and God as their portion. This doctrine is no doubt mysterious, and it involves further mysteries, which those who reject it think they escape; but I am persuaded that it is the doctrine of Christ and of Paul; and I am the more confirmed in this when I find that Dr Fairbairn (p. 404-5) is led simply to reject Paul's teaching in Rom. ix. 19-24 as a remnant of Judaic ideas. The passage is indeed one of the hard things in the apostle's writings, and I have confessed elsewhere¹ that I do not understand some of its assertions, but I am not prepared to throw overboard Paul's authority, or to believe that I have attained a truer conception of God than he had. However great and painful are the mysteries of the Calvinistic doctrine of the divine sovereignty, the alternative view, which implies that the issue of the world's history is dependent on the wills of men, seems to me far more devoid of comfort, and in some aspects positively appalling. But I rejoice to find that at a later stage Dr Fairbairn recognises, in the ideal Church of the later Pauline epistles, "the symbol of the completed work of Christ, of all that God through it had meant to accomplish; by it was unfolded the mystery of His will" (p. 526). What is implied in this passage is in substance all that a moderate Calvinism requires; and if the author's previous statements of the freedom of man's will may be qualified so as to harmonise with this, I would not differ very much from him.

This leads me to observe that it is a recommendation of the modern historical method in theology that it tends to minimise the differences of various systems, by showing that these have often been more verbal than real, or have been due to one-sided and exaggerated statements of truth. On some of the points on which I am unable to agree with Dr Fairbairn, the difference is largely as to the form of expression; and if I have dwelt at some length on these, it is because truth and harmony may be best reached, not by ignoring even slight differences, but by frank explanation and friendly criticism, by which misunderstanding may be removed. Though I cannot go along with Dr Fairbairn in the whole course of his reconstructive work, I am quite of one mind with him in the greater and more important part of it, that which is fundamental, in which, I think, he has done a great and valuable service to evangelical Christians of all churches and schools. What is called "the return to Christ" will not, I believe, create a radically new theology; for it can hardly be that all Christian thinkers hitherto have been fundamentally mistaken, but it will produce a new and sounder method of theologising, and alter some important features of all the old systems. And the nearer we come to Christ Himself, in thought as well as in heart, the nearer shall we be brought to

¹ In "The Christian Doctrine of God," p. 70.

one another in both respects. This will be promoted, too, by the spirit, as well as by the contents of Dr Fairbairn's work; for it is marked by an absence of all controversial bitterness, and a genial candour and fairness in dealing with opinions and systems of all different kinds. That such a book has already in a few months reached the third edition, which we now have the pleasure of reviewing, is a very hopeful sign of the times. JAMES S. CANDLISH.

Théologie du Nouveau Testament.

Tome Premier. La Vie et L'Enseignement de Jésus par Jules Bovon, Prof. de théologie de l'Eglise Evangelique libre du Canton de Vaud. Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. Pp. 545. Price 10 francs.

THIS volume forms the first part of an "Étude sur l'Œuvre de la Rédemption," which Professor Bovon proposes to give to the public. This first instalment augurs well for the success of the whole, and we shall eagerly await the issue of the second volume which is to contain the teaching of the Apostles.

The plan of this first part is roomy and comprehensive. Professor Bovon justifies his departure from the usual method of the Biblical Theologian; and whether he is scientifically right or wrong in including in his work investigations which are usually relegated to the department of Introduction, every reader will welcome his well-informed and sound discussions of the sources and of the life of Jesus. He considers that, as the Biblical Theologian cannot enter upon an exposition of the teaching of Jesus without first of all satisfying himself of the trustworthiness and character of the sources of our information regarding this teaching, and without also ascertaining the general features of the life and person of Jesus, he is justified in exhibiting his beliefs and conclusions on these points. Certainly, Professor Bovon's examination of the gospels, and his sketch of the life therein depicted, are not the least valuable portion of his work.

It would be difficult to name a more lucid and satisfactory account of the gospels. The immense literature which has accumulated around them has been thoroughly mastered. The critic of the Synoptic problem is nothing if not up to date, and Professor Bovon is familiar with the most recent contributions to its solution. The case for and against the several hypotheses is stated with remarkable fairness and insight, while Professor Bovon's criticisms are both new and weighty. In particular, while disposed to adopt some of

the main conclusions of the advocates of the two-sources solution, he is careful to point out that we have not data for the reconstruction of those sources, and that those who attempt such reconstruction are continually under temptation to reduce the Evangelists to mere compilers, picking a verse here and a verse there with mechanical servility and an entire lack of freedom. Weiss, Wendt, Resch, and Marshall are all criticised from this point of view. Professor Bovon's own conclusion from the phenomena presented by the gospels is that they employed common written sources, differing in their text from one another, but that, while using these written sources, they freely interwove the oral tradition, which was still current. The written sources which they used were, he thinks, a collection of the discourses of Jesus by Matthew, a redaction of the reminiscences of Peter, perhaps a Judæo-Christian narrative used especially by Luke, several fragmentary narratives containing anecdotes and sayings of Jesus, all sinking their roots into the soil of apostolic tradition.

Considering the knowledge and the freeness of Professor Bovon's criticism, some readers will be surprised to find that he unhesitatingly ascribes the fourth gospel to the Apostle John. This he does after a candid consideration of the difficulties which have been so abundantly urged, and which he admits to be grave. Indeed, his statement of the difficulty of reconciling the character displayed by the author of this gospel with the Boanerges who wished to call down fire from heaven, and a sample of whose work we have in the Apocalypse, is as forcible and telling as it could well be made. His solution is that in the human spirit there are commonly found divergent tendencies, of which now one and now another finds expression. The manner in which this idea is elaborated lends both interest and value to a chapter which is a distinct contribution to the literature of the fourth gospel.

Even in the brief outline of the life of Jesus which Professor Bovon furnishes there are many points of interest, and much which shows the independence of the author's conclusions. Allowing great weight to the fourth gospel as the work of a companion of Jesus, Professor Bovon accepts the opinion that the ministry lasted for little more than two years. He believes in two cleansings of the Temple, but in one feeding of the people. He thinks that Jesus had a distinct consciousness of his Messiahship from the beginning of His ministry; and he finds no difficulty in reconciling the strong language of Jesus on Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi with the account given by John of Peter's acknowledgment of Jesus at a much earlier date.

The teaching of Jesus is arranged in the usual manner and under the usual headings. First the teaching as given by the Synoptists

is expounded, and then the teaching which is found in the fourth gospel. A concluding chapter exhibits the reconciliation of these two sources. Although so much has lately been written on the Kingdom of God as represented by Jesus, the reader of Professor Bovon's exposition finds his interest freshly engaged. It is not a mere echo or re-assortment of the observations which previous critics have made that we find here, but an original and suggestive survey of the old ground. It is, however, in the presentation of the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the fourth gospel that Professor Bovon's work will provoke most criticism. He holds that Christ is Son of God in a unique sense, and is the true and sole intermediary between God and man, but this not because He is consubstantial with the Father or God's Son in the Nicene sense. His position, in short, is very much the same as Wendt's. And he does good service by bringing out the real meaning of some of the passages which are erroneously, though commonly, employed to prove the Nicene doctrine, as well as by very forcibly exhibiting the practical character of all that John says regarding the relations of Father and Son. On this point much is adduced which must be taken account of by critics who have found a philosopher in the Galilean fisherman. At the same time, Professor Bovon's exegesis of some of the critical texts is not satisfactory. Thus, while he rejects that interpretation of Christ's saying, "Before Abraham was, I am," which finds in the words nothing but a reference to a purely ideal existence, his own interpretation, which is based on the idea that Christ in thought identifies Himself with God, whom He represents, cannot be considered much happier. ["Au point culminant de son activité personnelle, Christ se sent comme emporté par un tel courant de vie, que pour lui, le représentant sur la terre du Dieu des cieux, le temps et l'espace cessent en quelque sorte d'exister et que, sans perdre son individualité, il s'identifie alors avec l'être souverain dont le trône domine le flot changeant des ombres et des vanités qui nous entraînent. En d'autres termes, ce que ces paroles mystérieuses nous apportent, c'est le témoignage du Sauveur sur sa divinité, dans ce sens que si les autres hommes ont derrière eux des ancêtres qui leur ont donné leurs aptitudes et leur tempéraments, lui, 'le Fils unique,' ne tire que de Dieu seul ses forces et sa vie."] It will be understood that this view of the person of Christ colours Professor Bovon's interpretation of His teaching; but it will be owned that his exegesis is always worthy of consideration, and in most instances is sound and lucid.

On the whole, this volume must be ranked among the most useful and stimulating of recent theological productions. It combines German thoroughness, French lucidity, and English sense. It is the result of wide and careful reading, and of profound and disci-

plined thought ; but all the scaffolding is removed, and the reader is not wearied with needless detail. Liberal in its theology, it is conservative in criticism, and profitably recalls attention to points which in recent years have been too freely taken for granted. The information it contains, the lucidity of its exposition, the spirit in which it is written, its criticisms and its suggestions, lend it value and importance, and make it worthy of serious study.

MARCUS DODS.

A Literary History of Early Christianity.

*By Charles T. Cruttwell, M.A. London: Charles Griffin. 1893.
2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxvi. 683. Price 21s.*

IN these two substantial volumes Mr Cruttwell undertakes, in the sphere of early Christian literature, a task which he has already accomplished with success for the literature of Rome. His "History of Roman Literature," published in 1877, accurately fitted a vacant space in the English classical student's library, and rapidly took the place it still holds as a serviceable handbook. This encouraging reception, says Mr Cruttwell in his Preface, "suggested the extension of the same plan to the more complicated field of the literature of the early Church." So far as he is aware, "there is no English work which exactly covers the same ground." This is a little disingenuous in our author, and fosters hopes which his work does not by any means fulfil. Unless he wishes us to lay an unusual emphasis either on "exactly" or on "English," he cannot escape entering into comparison with more than one established work which is at the disposal of English readers. Waiving the fact that every Church history on a large scale covers the same ground, there are surely Pressensé and Farrar, Donaldson and Schaff (to mention these alone) who have handled the same matter ; and we may say at once that the two former have set it out into more sympathy and brilliancy, the latter with more fulness and accuracy than Mr Cruttwell can claim.

Further, it may be doubted whether there is so much in common between the literature of Rome and that of the early Church as to justify the expectation that they can be advantageously treated on the same plan. The early Christian writings do not form a literature in the sense that the works of Latin writers from Lucilius to Suetonius do. They differ from all other literatures, as Mr Cruttwell himself points out, in being wholly theological and religious. But Mr Cruttwell does not observe that this changes entirely the standard of criticism, and the task of the historian. In fact, the difference between the qualities and methods necessary for

a satisfactory treatment of Vergil and of Origen, of Cicero and of Tertullian, is so great, that when we find it overlooked at the outset, we can hardly expect success. The very points which are of subordinate importance in the one field are supreme in the other. Authenticity, date, dependence or independence, hardly affect the value or charm of an epistle of Cicero, or an ode of Horace. Yet these are the points in regard to almost the whole of early Christian literature which are at once in dispute and crucial to its value. Mr Cruttwell seems to recognise the distinction in one half of its application, but not in the other. "Of all the writings included in the period of our survey," he says, "there are two, and only two, which can rightly be described as charming." It is, in fact, vain to expect, and impossible to kindle, in the "general reader," enthusiasm for the body of early Christian literature as a whole. It is simply not "classical." It can only offer fragments or specimens which have intrinsic value apart from their speculative or ecclesiastical bearing. The "students," on the other hand, for whom Mr Cruttwell also writes, who have already an interest, speculative or historical, cannot be satisfied with a loose method of criticism and an imperfect grasp of underlying principles. It is a matter of comparative indifference whether Livy had or had not authentic materials for the construction of the early books of his history, but that the "Gospel according to Peter" used the Fourth Gospel cannot, by a judicious historian, be either airily asserted or dogmatically denied.

A careful examination of Mr Cruttwell's work justifies the moderation of our expectations. The period with which he deals, runs from the close of the Canon to the threshold of the Arian controversy, the limits being practically those of Schaff's *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, and identical with those of Donaldson's *History of Christian Literature*. The literature of this period is divided into four sections, viz., The Apostolic Fathers, Heretical Sects, Apologists, Alexandrian School, and Latin Christianity. Considerable extracts illustrate the style of a number of the writers, and translations of the Didachè and the Gospel of Peter are given at full length.

The section on the Apostolic Fathers displays both the inconsistencies and the imperfections of the method. We find neither the systematic treatment of a handbook, nor the penetrating and unifying grasp of a history. We finish its perusal without obtaining any clear comprehension of the writers, their relations or their influence. Mr Cruttwell, for example, devotes ten pages to Clement of Rome. The facts, with most of the reflections, may be found in Bishop Lightfoot's edition of this Father, and more particularly in his "Appendix"; but they suffer both by selection and by compression. The Bishop has a paragraph expounding the statement that "There is no dogmatic system in Clement." This becomes, in Mr Crutt-

well, "The doctrinal system of Clement is vague and unformed." The Bishop remarks on the comprehensiveness of his view of truth. Mr Cruttwell adds, "His is emphatically an 'all-round mind.'" Dr Lightfoot, very naturally in his "Appendix," describes fully the new MS. of Constantinople, and the position it gives to the Epistle of Clement. Here the description is partly given verbatim, and partly compressed into a paragraph on "Authorities for the Text." Space is also found for a discussion of the obscure question of the early succession of Roman Bishops, and for remarks on "Characteristics of Clement's Mind and Genius"; but when we look for an account of his work, the contents of the Text, the very *raison d'être* of the chapter in a "literary history," we find two short quotations from the Epistle, and nothing more. We search in vain for any reference to the situation at Corinth which caused the Roman Church to send this Epistle, or even for the slightest indication of its purpose. No reader could learn from this work that the "First Epistle" of Clement was written on account of party differences that had broken out at Corinth, and the removal or deposition of Presbyters there. Mr Cruttwell discusses the identification of Clement with various persons known by the same name, but passes over in silence the fact that he quotes from Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians by name.

In striking contrast with this treatment of Clement's Epistle, but hardly less perplexing, is the fulness with which the Shepherd of Hermas is described and analysed. Mr Cruttwell, it is true, thinks that the book is "less appreciated than it deserves"; but we question whether, as an admirer of the work, he is wise in putting ten pages of bald analysis in the hands of the general reader. This medley of fantasy and homiletics does not gain by appearing in its bare allegorical framework. It is, as Bunsen called it, a good but dull novel, not deserving to be compared with the "Pilgrim's Progress," either for religious or for imaginative force. It is true that, as Dr Westcott points out, "theologically the Shepherd is of the highest value." But Mr Cruttwell gives the student no indication of its theological value. Indeed, he minimizes unduly the witness of Hermas to the New Testament. He is writing with unusual care when he says, "The only book with which affinities can be proved is the Epistle of St James." He acknowledges "some correspondence with the teaching of Peter. But, on the whole, Hermas cannot be said to show much familiarity with Scripture." Taken with absolute literalness, these statements may be correct; but they certainly obscure or overlook the fact that the Pastor is full of inarticulate echoes of the New Testament. We might go further, and ask whether there is not sufficient of indirect allusion to establish, for example, Hermas' acquaintance with the Gospel of

Matthew. The Vatican text of *Vis. ii.* 2-8 is all but a quotation from Matt. x. 33; and Mr Cruttwell takes no notice of the many phrases in *Hermas*, which, without being exact quotations, are surely reminiscences of the Fourth Gospel. In *Sim. ix.* 12, 6 (ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν. αὕτη μία εἰσοδὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὖν οὐδεὶς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ) we have only one of several passages which seem to reflect the Johannine tradition both in substance and in colouring. It is at anyrate misleading to assert broadly that *Hermas* shows little familiarity with Scripture.

But it is possible that we are not fair to Mr Cruttwell in applying too high a standard to his work. There are some indications that he would be content with a lower one. They appear when he leaves his authorities. He quotes the famous excerpt from Papias—Mark the interpreter of Peter, &c.—and not unjustly describes it as the battle-ground of many opposing arguments. We will give our author credit for originality in his own contribution to the arrayed forces. Many of us would be content if we could establish the certainty that Papias made the statement. Mr Cruttwell goes further back and discovers Papias' authority (p. 108): "We can hardly doubt that in his emphatic declaration of St Mark's perfect accuracy, Papias is drawing not on his own conviction, nor even on the general consensus of Church opinion, but is reporting the expressed judgment of an apostle, and if so, who could that apostle be but St John himself, *who alone would be competent, from his age and dignity, to criticise the work of a companion of St Peter.*" Alas! in what age was criticism limited by competence, or age and dignity guaranteed by the claim to criticise? Mr Cruttwell has read Bishop Lightfoot's reply to *Supernatural Religion*, but has he never read the original *Supernatural Religion*, that he ventures to risk such flimsy reasoning as this?

We fear, however, that our author is committed to this method. When he comes to the Epistle to Diognetus he is much concerned at the general inability to point out the author of the letter which he so justly admires. At last "Professor Birks" comes to his assistance. From this authority he culls an argument, which is so interesting an illustration of how a critical question ought not to be treated that it is worth outlining. The Letter to Diognetus is preceded in the MS. of "The Holy Justin" by an anonymous address "To Greeks." Cureton has published a version of what appears to be "another set of notes" to the latter document, which is there ascribed to Ambrosius. This Ambrosius "may have been" the founder of the Ambrosian family of the Gens Aurelia. Now, it was Marcus Aurelius who had for tutor the only Diognetus known to us. "It is tempting, therefore, to connect the two

names." Mr Cruttwell betrays an uncomfortable feeling that the reasons for this assignment of authorship are unsatisfactory, but is "nevertheless of opinion that it is desirable to give, whenever possible, a human interest to every writing of antiquity, by connecting it with some writer's name." By an all too easy descent, after referring in the sequel to this theory as "hanging by a more than slender thread," he, ere he quits the subject, lightly adduces "the tradition already mentioned," whereas, as a matter of fact, there is not a shred even of tradition on the subject.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the worthlessness of such a method as this, or even on the danger to interests more important than literary ones, which follows on the application of such a method to documents of historical or theological importance. But its employment is the more to be regretted in a book which, by its tone and contents, makes pretensions to scholarship and authority. After this it is hardly surprising to find Mr Cruttwell upholding the integrity of the Epistle to Diognetus. He has the whole weight of authority against him, and the "peculiar loftiness of style" in chapters xi. and xii., which, in his opinion, points to one and the same author," will hardly balance the conclusive proofs of a later origin.

The sections on the heretical sects and the apologists are marked by a different kind of imperfection, as they demand a different treatment. We admit that it is no easy task to isolate the teaching, say, of Basilides or Valentinus, and to seize and present in the compass of a few pages the philosophic impulse which found expression in their endless chains of aeons and syzygies. As an attempt to articulate Christianity in some one or other of existent cosmic philosophies, Gnosticism demands for its proper treatment a philosophic knowledge and acumen, which not many who possess it are willing to devote to its elucidation. Mr Cruttwell makes a bold attempt to get below the surface, and lay hold on principles, but his account is confused and confusing, and he falls back on the endless genealogies of the various systems, leaving no very definite impression either of the teachers or of what they taught. It would have been wiser to abandon the attempt to explain the ideas of Basilides and Valentinus, the Ophites, and the Naassenes, referring the reader to Lightfoot or Mansel, Harnack or Baur. Space would thus have been gained for matters which are really more cognate to the subject. The complete absence of the bibliography of the subject is a serious drawback to the usefulness of the book; neither Canon nor Creed formation is touched upon, and by a strange omission the Acts of the martyrdom of St Perpetua, one of the earliest and most affecting documents of the Latin church, is passed over in silence.

In truth, the work bears throughout marks of haste and compila-

tion. "Ammonius Sacas" might be a misprint, if it were not repeated twice at least. It is safe and wise to refrain from saying "who Leucius Charinus was, or whether he existed at all;" but Mr Cruttwell forgets that a few pages back he has "dated him at 250," and deduced through him a date for the Protevangelium. And whether he existed or not, he cannot have been "a disciple of St John," and also flourishing in 250. Colarbasus is still for Mr Cruttwell "a heretic of magical proclivities," although he had only to consult Dr Hort's article in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.* to find the true explanation of the word as it was detected last century by Heumann. These points may be unimportant for "the general reader," but it is serious even for him when we come to the period of Caius and Hippolytus, and find that Mr Cruttwell ignores all the more recent literature.

It is quite true that, until within the last five years, it was difficult to get a clear view of "Caius the Presbyter," and tempting to follow Lightfoot in the suggestion that he is a mythical personage, a *Doppelgänger* of Hippolytus. Caius, the collocutor in the dialogue against Marcion, might be Hippolytus himself, appearing under his prænomen, as Cicero appears as Marcus in his philosophic dialogues. It was a somewhat formidable objection that among the works ascribed to Hippolytus, in the catalogues of Ebed Jesu, there appears one entitled, Chapters against Caius; and the objection was hardly removed by the question, What could be the subject which would throw these two closely-related presbyters into antagonism? For this was met by a reference to the passage in Eusebius (H.E. iii. 28), in which Caius is quoted as rejecting an Apocalypse put forward by Cerinthus in the name of "a great Apostle." The description there given is hard to identify with the Johannine Apocalypse. And yet it is now certain that Caius did attack the Apocalypse, and that Hippolytus replied. A twelfth-century writer, Dionysius Barsalibi, commenting on our Apocalypse, introduces objections raised by "Caius the heretic" against the book, together with the replies of Hippolytus. Through the publication of these extracts by Dr Gwynn, and the examination of them by Harnack (T.U. vi. 3), it becomes clear that Caius was an historical personage, with strong anti-Chiliastic views, such as would naturally bring him into collision with Hippolytus.

Mr Cruttwell seems very imperfectly informed on the present state of knowledge concerning Hippolytus. He makes the astounding statement that "the only one" of his writings "now preserved" is the *Philosophumena*. He thus ignores not only the many fragments that have been recovered, but the well-known work on Christ and anti-Christ, which is complete, and valuable both to define further Hippolytus' position and for the Chiliastic controversy.

The fourth book of his Commentary on Daniel, also, has recently been discovered complete, and published by Mr Kennedy. It would have been of interest, even to the general reader, to know that it was Hippolytus who fixed the date of our Lord's Conception and His Nativity as we now have them observed. It is part, no doubt, of a general defect in Mr Cruttwell's plan that he omits all notice of a further work which has lately, on very good ground, been ascribed to Hippolytus. He intentionally excludes from his account of this period the whole literature of formulas, creeds, and liturgies. They could only have been presented, as he says, in their rudimentary stages; but it is precisely here, in the process of free development, under the local and practical necessities of the Church, that the literary interest of this subject predominates, and it is a serious defect in the work that the topics of *Regula Fidei*, *Apostolicum*, *Apostolic Constitutions* are passed over in silence. The subject of the genesis and growth of the *Ap. Constt.* is hardly yet ripe for thorough treatment, but it would not have been premature to draw attention to the place that will probably be occupied by Hippolytus in that department also.

A further light has recently been thrown on this subject by Dr Hans Achelis, who has thoroughly examined the "*Canones Hippolyti*." The Arabic work which now goes under this title has been known in Europe since 1677, when it was described by Wansleben, and was edited by Haneberg, with a Latin translation, in 1870. It was known to the Coptic Canonists of the Middle Ages as the *Canons of Abulides*, and its author traditionally described as "a Roman Patriarch." As early as 1691 Leutholf identifies the author with Hippolytus, but through a confusion with the eighth book of *Ap. Constt.*, with which it is nearly related, the C.H. came to be regarded merely as an extract from the latter. Achelis has issued a new translation of C.H., together with one of an Egyptian "*Book of Church Order*," written in Coptic (originally translated by Tattam, 1848), which he thinks intermediate between the C.H. and the *Ap. Constt.* The three documents thus published in parallel columns provide a most stimulating opportunity for the study of the growth of ecclesiastical practice and organization. The *Canones Hippolyti* belong to the transition period between the early period and the developed and crystallized system of Cyprian. The Eucharistic service is no longer confined to the Sunday, but is not yet of daily use. It is celebrated on Sunday, and also on week days, as often as the bishop directs. In the procedure necessary for the valid ordination of a bishop, the stress is laid upon the election "*ab omni populo*"; who signify their share in the appointment by the solemn public testimony "*nos eligimus eum*"; and the consecration is performed

not by three bishops, as in Cyprian, but by "*unus ex episcopis et presbyteris*." The type of practice and organisation is seen to be a development of Justin's, and indigenous not in the Eastern but in the Western Church. Achelis comes to the conclusion that this Arabic translation of a Book of Order, somewhat anterior to the time of Cyprian, is really the work of Hippolytus, and he shows reason for identifying it with the ἀποστολική παράδοσις, whose title appears in the catalogue of the Bishop's writings, inscribed upon the statue which was found in 1551.

Attention should also be given to the short Prologue and Epilogue between which the C.H. are enclosed. They bear witness to a doctrinal conflict issuing in a separation, the ground of which is clearly divergent views on the relation between the Logos and Christ. Achelis believes that we have here distinct traces of the conflict between Hippolytus and Callistus, that the latter having withdrawn with a minority of the Roman Church, and founded a congregation, "*arcta unione conjuncti*," who claimed to be "*discipuli scripturarum*," excommunicated the Pope and his followers, "*qui non consentiunt ecclesiæ Dei*."

There is still much to be done in determining the dates and details of the biography of Hippolytus. Many statements concerning him have been too hastily swept into the spoil-heap of legend and misconception. These have been recently re-collected and examined by Dr Erbes (J.P.T. xiv.), and his results must be reckoned with. The year 235, which is generally accepted for the date of Hippolytus' death, rests only upon the evidence of the Chronicle, according to which (1) Pontianus Episcopus and Hippolytus Presbyter were banished together to Sardinia in that year; (2) Pontianus was deposed (or died) later in the same year, and in the same place; and (3) Hippolytus and Pontianus, buried in different catacombs, were commemorated as martyrs on the same day. The inference is natural, but not necessary, that they died at the same time, and were buried at the same time, though in different places, at Rome. Suspending this unnecessary inference, Erbes finds room in the life of Hippolytus, prolonged beyond 235, for the statements of Prudentius which Döllinger pronounced "*in allen seinen Zügen nicht historisch haltbar*," and for the scattered references of Eusebius and others. He inclines, therefore, to date the death of the saint in 251, while De Rossi would extend his life as far as 257. It would be in this period, after his return from exile, and reconciliation with the church at Rome, that an explanation would be found for the mysterious collocation in Eusebius of Hippolytus with Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra.

C. A. SCOTT.

Klostermann on the Pentateuch: Der Pentateuch. Beiträge zu seinen Verständniss und seiner Entstehungsgeschichte.

*Von Dr August Klostermann. Leipzig: A. Deichert. 1893.
Pp. viii. 447. Price, M. 8.*

THIS volume consists of reprints of articles from *Studien und Kritiken*, the *Zeitschr. für luth. Theologie*, &c., with additions and modifications. The theories they propound have already been noticed by English critics, and are familiar to most students of Pentateuch criticism. The publication of this volume is a suitable occasion for a brief recapitulation of some of the main positions.

To begin at the end: the last essay has no immediate connection with the preceding essays, its subject is the significance to the Calendar of the Year of Jubilee. The author seeks to revive an old theory, that the Year of Jubilee was a device for harmonising the lunar and solar years.

The first seven essays form a fairly complete statement of Klostermann's position on the criticism of the Pentateuch. He begins by dealing with "the fundamental error of all present-day Pentateuch criticism." This fundamental error has, apparently, various branches. Critics make a mistake in starting with J, E, and P, instead of ascertaining the original book and its author. They ignore the probability that between the composition of the Pentateuch or its sources, and the formation of the Masoretic text, Hebrew passed through many stages, and the language of the Pentateuch was frequently brought up to date. But the head and front of their offending is that they follow blindly the Masoretic text. The data upon which the current Pentateuch criticism rests, especially as regards the distinction and analysis of J and E, have simply arisen from the corruption of the text. Three considerations suggest themselves on this head. *First*, The textual criticism of the Old Testament is not a subject wholly ignored by such critics as Wellhausen and Driver, and in arriving at their results they have had before them both the principles and the data upon which Klostermann relies. *Second*, If Klostermann's principle were consistently applied to the Old Testament, it would follow that the books were very largely the work of the Masoretes, and their predecessors the scribes. *Third*, If the text is so doubtful, surely Klostermann should first have published a revised text of his own, and then have constructed his theories. He censures other critics for relying upon the Masoretic text for details; but when he is fairly embarked on his own positive arguments he seems to forget how unsafe is the foundation afforded by the Hebrew text, and uses details freely.

Having thus demolished present-day criticism, he lays down, in the second essay, "the safe point of departure" for future Pentateuch criticism. "Deut. iv. 45—xxviii. 69 is the *ancient* law-book discovered by Hilki'ah." It was an ancient law-book which had been lost, but all along Josiah and his predecessors had possessed another law-book, which had not been lost. The third essay explains how this recovered law-book was furnished with an introduction, conclusion, and explanatory notes, and was then inserted in its proper place in the Book of Numbers. The fourth essay shows that Numbers was a part of a larger whole, beginning with Genesis and ending with Joshua; in fact, a "Pre-Josianic" Pentateuch. Then in the fifth essay it is shown that this "Pre-Josianic" Pentateuch was itself an enlargement of an earlier Pentateuch, and that this earlier edition was in existence before the time of Hezekiah, and was compiled from existing documents and current traditions. The sixth essay deals at considerable length with the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii.) and Deuteronomy, and contains a careful and minute analysis of Deut. xxxi. 14—xxxii. 52. Our author concludes that the Song was known as Mosaic, certainly in the time of Hezekiah, possibly very much earlier, and evidently inclines to accept it as Mosaic. The seventh essay contains a very full investigation of the relation of the Law of Holiness to Ezekiel. Ezekiel, it is maintained, was not the author of the Law of Holiness, but was familiar with it as an ancient and authoritative exposition of the law.

We cannot wonder that both English and German critics have declined to surrender positions assumed as the result of generations of progressive study, even at the peremptory mandate of the "Don Quixote of criticism," as Klostermann has been called. There is much minute work in these essays, and many interesting suggestions on minor points and secondary issues, but their value to the student is seriously diminished by the combination of useful material with the constant assertion that *all* modern criticism is radically mistaken.

W. H. BENNETT.

Introduction au Nouveau Testament.

Par F. Godet, Docteur en Theol., Prof. à la Faculté de l'Eglise Independante de Neuchâtel. *Introduction Particulière. I. Les Epîtres de Saint Paul.* Neuchâtel: Attinger Frères. 8vo, pp. xii. 737. Price F. 12.

In a preface that wins us by its personal confidences, Dr Godet tells how this work is the realisation of a dream of his youth; for he recollects that when as a young student he was walking on the terrace of the old cathedral, at the foot of which he lived, he thought

it would be desirable to have a book that should set the Epistles of St Paul each in its historical place, "like an egg in its nest." He adds, "Cet ouvrage rêvé, le voici." Anything that comes from Dr Godet is sure to receive a cordial welcome in Great Britain, and our familiarity with his eloquent and luminous commentaries prepares us to appreciate very highly a work in which the venerable Swiss theologian thus gathers up the harvest of a lifetime. Of course we shall also be prepared to find that Dr Godet maintains his attitude of enlightened conservatism in face of the hailstorm of adverse criticism that has fallen between the first conception of his design and this partial accomplishment of it. But if sometimes he does not seem to feel the full force of the liberal movement, at all events he is quite frank in stating its arguments, and absolutely fair in meeting them. One of the most valuable characteristics of the book now before us is the large amount of space it gives to the history of criticism in regard to all the more serious questions that demand investigation—a history which is itself critical, and not a mere *résumé* of *obiter dicta*. The work is up to date in nearly all respects, fully overhauling quite recent theories, Steck's for instance. Here we cannot suspect any alliance between conservatism and obscurantism.

Dr Godet holds that the General Introduction to the New Testament should precede the particular Introduction to the separate books; but a pathetic reference to his own age is his explanation for departing from his theory and issuing at once the study of the Pauline Epistles in their relation to the life and history of the apostle to which this volume is devoted. In a preliminary discussion on the sphere of criticism, he carries the war to the enemy's camp by urging that the criticism which boasts of being scientific is often quite wanting in the scientific temper, and swayed by other passions than a pure love for truth. He divides the critics into two parties, according as they start with a fixed determination to exclude the supernatural, or are free from that warping prejudice. He will not admit that the early Church was so extremely credulous as the anti-supernatural criticism assumes. He claims for his own method a fair and calm spirit. It would be possible, no doubt, to reply from the other side that he is the advocate for the defence, rather than the impartial judge.

After disposing of these and similar preliminary considerations, Dr Godet examines "The life of Paul down to his first epistles," in a section that is full of well-digested matter. On the vexed question of St Paul's knowledge of Greek culture, he points out that although the young Jew must have left Tarsus too early in life to have attended the great schools which were then flourishing in the Cilician city, a tradition of the Talmud that of the 1000 students of

Gamaliel at Jerusalem, 500 studied the law, and 500 Greek wisdom, suggests the possibility of his having made some acquaintance of Hellenic thought even at Jerusalem. At Tarsus, too, on his return thither in later life, he must have come into contact with the vigorous intellectual life of the city. That St Paul was a classical scholar is not to be supposed. Yet his reference to "certain even of your own poets," and these, it appears, quite minor poets, evidences some knowledge of Greek literature. Neither from this source, however, nor from his Pharisaism could St Paul have derived the ideas which became the constituent elements of his gospel. Dr Godet will not allow any weight to the teaching of St Stephen, nor to those other moral and spiritual influences which preceded the conversion of St Paul, in leading up to that event. The goads against which it was hard for him to prick were not the thoughts and impulses that were rising in his own mind and conscience, but simply the external facts of the progress of Christianity. It was hard for Saul to resist the onward movement of Divine Providence in the world. Now, in considering this uncompromising attitude of Dr Godet we may well admit that he has made out a strong case for the superhuman, the truly divine origin of the conversion of the fanatical persecutor into a disciple and an apostle. But to exclude almost all preparatory thinking is not only to make this out to be divine, but also to represent it as harshly destructive of that innate liberty of intellect and will which God respects in all His children.

In discussing "the thorn in the flesh" mentioned in 2 Corinthians, and the humiliating personal trouble to which the apostle refers when writing to the Galatians, Dr Godet rejects the hypotheses of an eye complaint and of epilepsy, and considers that two different afflictions are referred to in the two cases, the first being cramp in the organs of speech, and the second a cutaneous eruption. It is unfortunate that Dr Godet has not been able to see Professor Ramsay's masterly work on "The Church in the Roman Empire," in time to refer to it, because if he had done so he might have acknowledged some value in the suggestion that St Paul, having been stricken down with fever when landing on the low, malarious maritime plain south of the Taurus mountains, was forced to climb to the uplands behind to recover his health, a necessity which he would have regarded as a sign of weakness since it interfered with his plans, yet one which led to his opening up a new mission among the Galatians. A perusal of Professor Ramsay's book might also have induced Dr Godet to mitigate the severity with which he condemns the identification of the churches of Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra with the Galatian Christians addressed in St Paul's epistle, and the decisiveness with which he pronounces for the smaller

ethnological Galatia in the north. The new light which Professor Ramsay has thrown on the use of the name "Galatia" disposes of much of what Dr Godet here says; and the utter impracticability of a journey across country to the far-off northern Galatia on the part of travellers who, as we know, usually kept to high roads and visited great centres, which Professor Ramsay, with his intimate knowledge of the country, has demonstrated, makes it apparent that the reference to the journey as a very simple affair must be a mistake.

Dr Godet vindicates the authenticity of all the thirteen epistles commonly attributed to St Paul. Contesting the ideas of progressive thought so brilliantly expounded by Sabatier, he maintains that the absence of dogmatic statements concerning the questions which are dealt with in the four great epistles is no proof that the apostle had not fully thought out his doctrines when he wrote to the Thessalonians. This was subsequent to the conferences at Jerusalem, and very near to the time of the conflict with St Peter at Antioch. The preaching in Galatia, in which he had fully set forth his gospel, had preceded the preaching in Thessalonica. He must therefore have held what he assumed that the Galatians knew from his preaching to them.

Dr Godet shows the impossibility of placing 2 Thessalonians before 1 Thessalonians. The Apocalyptic elements of the later epistle he ascribes in part to the influence of the book of Daniel. He does not think that the Man of Sin is to be identified with the Antichrist of the Apocalypse. His whole discussion of this obscure subject is very thorough, and it will constitute a decided contribution towards the elucidation of the problem. The time is shown to be too late for Caligula, and too early for Nero, who cannot be regarded as the chief of a religious apostacy. Dr Godet inclines to the most ancient interpretation, that of Tertullian, in identifying the Man of Sin with the false Jewish Messiah, *i.e.*, with the false Jewish *idea* of a Messiah. This was the great hindrance to Christianity.

The elaborate discussion of the four great epistles leaves little or nothing to be desired. Dr Godet shows against all arguments to the contrary that the Roman Church was mainly Gentile, and he conjectures that it probably first received the gospel from Antioch, not from Jerusalem. The aim of the epistle to this Church was entirely different from that of the epistle to the Galatians. It was not polemical. It was not directed against a Jewish Church, or against a Judaizing faction, nor was it an elaborate *Apologia pro viâ suâ*,—why should the Apostle address such a defence to a distant, strange church? The epistle was a calm exposition of the Apostle's ideas of what was essential to *his* gospel, written for the benefit of

a church which had not yet been thoroughly grounded in them. The epistle to the Galatians set justification by faith in opposition to Judaistic Christianity; the epistle to the Romans set it in opposition to the two great religions of the world—Paganism and Judaism. Thus it opposed salvation by law, pure and simple, as a Jewish doctrine; it took no account of the Judaistic Christianity that was rampant in Galatia.

Dr Godet endeavours to vindicate the complete integrity of the epistle to the Romans, even including the last chapter, the many personal remarks of which seem to some of us so much more suitable in a letter addressed to Ephesus. He argues that all St Paul's Asiatic friends there referred to, several of whom we know were recently in Ephesus, *may* have gone to Rome. True, this is possible; but is it probable?

The four epistles of the Captivity are all assigned to Rome, where St Paul enjoyed the liberty he could not have had at Cæsarea. Those to the Colossians, Philemon, and the Ephesians come early in the Captivity, that to the Philippians near the end of it. In defending the first of these, Dr Godet takes the line which Dr Lightfoot has made familiar to us, showing that the Judaistic, ascetic, and speculative elements of the heresy therein denounced agree with what we might expect from an invasion of the Church by something like Essene influences, and not with the later Gnosticism of the second century. He defends the Epistle to the Ephesians from the charge of being but a weak imitation of that to the Colossians. Written at the same time, and for a less specific object, it naturally contained echoes of the ideas which had been roused in the apostle's mind by the special needs of the Colossian Church. Its aim was not polemical. Dr Godet accepts the theory that it was a circular letter, and he holds that it should not be assigned to Ephesus any more than to any other locality.

Dr Godet argues for the great probability that St Paul would have been liberated at the trial, which was the result of his appeal to Cæsar. He bases his conclusion on three grounds, in addition to the familiar arguments from references to historical details. *First*, from the narrative in the "Acts" we should expect that Festus would have sent up a favourable report with his prisoner to Rome. *Second*, St Paul himself anticipated an acquittal. *Third*, it is most improbable that the "Acts" would have ended abruptly without any mention of the martyrdom of the apostle if this had taken place—and the late date necessary for the third gospel compels us to assign a still later time for the composition of St Luke's second work. If Dr Godet had seen Professor Ramsay's book he might have added that the condition of the Christians under the Roman government at this time, before Christianity had been declared to

be a crime, should have made St Paul sure of winning his case. It was only just and legal that he should be acquitted, and as yet the government had no motive for dealing otherwise than justly with Christians. The importance of this conclusion is its bearing on the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles. Dr Godet applies a searching criticism to the current objections against these epistles. He shows that the heresies therein mentioned are not to be identified with any of the great Gnostic systems. No writer of the second century would treat those systems with the mild contempt implied in the term "old wives' fables." But such a phrase is quite applicable to the silly Jewish traditions of an earlier age. Then he makes it clear that the episcopacy of these epistles is much more primitive than that of the Ignatian letters. Timothy and Titus are to appoint elders; but their commission is itinerant and temporary. On the other hand, Dr Godet does not seem to quite appreciate the amazing difference between the style of the Pastoral Epistles and that of the unquestionably authentic Epistles. He justly remarks that the lists of *hapax legomena* in the latter are not less striking, and he rightly reminds us that Latin phrases, &c., would be very naturally acquired during the apostle's residence in Rome. But the structural variations cannot be easily set aside. We have scarcely heard the last word on the subject.

It will be a satisfaction for English readers to learn that a translation of this important work—to be published by Messrs T. & T. Clark—is in preparation.

W. F. ADENEY.

Man and the Glacial Period.

By G. Frederick Wright, D.D., LL.D. (International Scientific Series, Vol. LXXII.) London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1892. Crown 8vo, pp. 385. Price 5s.

THE story of the Glacial Period has never been more popularly or more forcibly told than in the present volume by Dr Wright. Few geologists are better qualified than he to tell the story of the Great Ice-Age, and those interested in the question will welcome this book. About two years ago he published a work entitled, *The Ice-Age of North America, and its bearing on the Antiquity of Man*, which is already in its third edition. The book to which this review refers is in part a summary of this larger work, but it has much new matter. In order to qualify himself for writing it, Dr Wright spent a season among the lava beds of the Pacific coast, and a summer amidst the drift deposits of Western Europe.

He commences by describing existing glaciers in the Eastern

and Western Hemispheres, and here he necessarily takes his readers over much old ground in Switzerland, Scandinavia, and Greenland ; but his account of the glaciers in Alaska is most picturesque. He describes the great sea of ice which lies at the foot of Mount St Elias in Alaska, and known as the Malaspina glacier—a vast *Mer-de-glace* formed by the confluence of many streams of ice, more than 50 miles in length, and from 10 to 20 in breadth, with an area of not less than 1000 square miles. The Muir glacier, also in Alaska, which flows into the sea at the head of Glacier Bay, is not less wonderful. It is formed by the confluence of twenty-six tributary glaciers, and the grand united ice-stream flows into the sea with a front a mile in width, and 200-400 feet in height above the water ; while icebergs break off from its front, and float away into the distant ocean.

Dr Wright's researches into the Ice-Age of North America, which, like that of Europe, came between the Pliocene period and the recent era, and formed part of the Pleistocene epoch, may be summed up as follows :—

In the Glacial Period most of North America north of the thirty-eighth parallel of north latitude was covered with a great sheet of moving ice, thousands of miles in extent and thousands of feet deep. There were two great centres from which the ice at this time flowed outwards in all directions. The first and most important centre was in the Laurentian Highlands, which lie between the St Lawrence and Hudson's Bay, and contain those famous Laurentian rocks which formed the most ancient land in North America. From this centre, which has been called the Laurentide Glacier, ice-sheets flowed north, south, east, and west, for many hundreds of miles. Another centre from which ice-sheets radiated was in the mountains of British Columbia, between the fifty-fifth and fifty-ninth parallels of north latitude. The Pacific coast of North America south of the Columbia river escaped this glaciation by ice-sheets, although its mountains were full of glaciers ; and it is a singular fact that in the Glacial Period, Alaska does not seem to have been overwhelmed by the great moving ice-sheets, although its mountains were covered with local glaciers. In North America at this time nearly 6,000,000 square miles were covered in many places by thousands of feet of moving ice. How far north this great ice-sheet reached is uncertain, for the Pole does not seem to have been permanently glaciated, and all idea of a great Polar ice-cap descending into the temperate regions is contradictory to the geological evidence presented by the extreme northern regions. The extreme southern front of the great ice-sheet of North America ran along a line varying from the thirty-eighth to the fortieth parallel of north latitude : it ran down towards the south-west from the New England

tates to the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi, and from this point it turned north-west nearly along the line of the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains.

Having described the Ice-Age in North America, Dr Wright next takes his readers to Europe, and gives an account of the glacial Period there, which was contemporaneous with that in North America. The great European *Mer-de-glace* was smaller than the American ice-sheet; nevertheless, it is affirmed that at this time at least 2,000,000 square miles in Northern Europe were buried beneath a great sheet of moving ice, which completely overflowed Great Britain, Northern Germany, Scandinavia, and Northern Russia, and filled up the Irish Channel, the Baltic, and the German Ocean. The southern limit of this European ice-sheet ran along the valley of the Thames, and then across Northern Germany to the Bohemian mountains. Thence it followed the northern slopes of the Carpathians, and turning to the north-east, reached the Arctic Ocean a little to the east of the White Sea. This European ice-sheet had a southern front of more than 3000 miles and an extreme breadth of 1000 miles. It did not, however, reach the North Pole, for Iceland was not glaciated at the time. One of the strangest things connected with the Ice-Age in the Eastern Hemisphere is the fact that Siberia seems to have escaped it, and to have been quite free from the vast moving sheets of ice which flowed like a deluge over the northern parts of Europe and America. The mountain region of Scandinavia was the great centre of ice-dispersion in Europe, and from this nucleus ice-streams flowed outwards in all directions, completely filling the Baltic and the German Ocean, and bearing boulders to Scotland, Northern Germany, and Russia. In addition to this, the Alps, Pyrenees, and Scotch mountains were local centres of glaciation.

What caused this wonderful Ice-Age? We do not know. Dr Wright discusses its origin, but does not fully solve the mystery. The idea of a great Polar ice-cap, sending down vast masses of ice into the temperate regions, must be abandoned. Over a large portion of North America, between the great Canadian lakes and the Arctic Ocean, it has been ascertained that the ice in the Glacial Period moved from *south to north*, and this fact alone negatives the theory of a Polar ice-cap. Besides this, Siberia and Alaska were not glaciated by the great moving ice-sheets, and any Polar ice-sheets descending on all sides from the Pole would not allow these countries to escape from its advance. Some time ago, Dr Croll proposed a theory of the Glacial Period, in which he endeavoured to show that astronomical changes connected with the earth's movements caused the Ice-Age. This theory, however, must be abandoned; for, if it were true, we should meet with traces

of many Glacial Periods in the history of the earth, which is not the case. It is true that geologists have pointed out certain conglomerates and breccias in the older formations, which they fancy are the result of former glacial periods, but all the evidence of palæontology is against this view. There is proof of but *one* great Ice-Age in the earth's history, and this makes its origin a question of the greatest difficulty. Dr Wright well describes the signs of the former working of glaciers and ice-sheets, and shows how their indications, such as boulder clay, scratched stones, and moraines can be observed and identified. The old moraines of these ancient glaciers are developed on a grand scale in North America, and can also be well observed in many parts of Great Britain.

Owing to the advance of the vast sheets of ice, it has been supposed that the drainage systems in Europe and North America were much altered, and lakes are thought to have been formed by the damming back of the streams by glaciers. Not to speak of the famous "parallel roads" of Glen Roy in Scotland, it is in North America that these ancient lake beds may best be observed. For many of these lakes, which were drained at the close of the Glacial Period, rivalled the great lakes of Canada in size. Dr Wright describes most picturesquely Lake Ohio and Lake Agassiz, both of which were of vast size, and were formed by ancient glaciers blocking up river channels. When the Glacial Period was passing away, the blocking glaciers melted, and so the waters of these lakes were drained away.

One of the most interesting portions of Dr Wright's book is that in which he discusses the Antiquity of Man with reference to the Glacial Period. Our author not only endeavours to give the proof of man's age with reference to the Glacial Period, but also tries to estimate that antiquity by years. There does not seem to be any proof that man existed either in Europe or America *before* the Glacial Period (*i.e.*, before the deposition of the boulder clay), and of course he could not live in lands overwhelmed by the great ice-sheets. But when these ice-sheets had attained to their greatest dimensions, man might have lived in lands to the south of the edge of great *Mers-de-glacé*. As yet, however, there does not seem to be satisfactory evidence of man's existence at this time. No skulls or bones of this age can be said with certainty to have been discovered, and only a few rough flints have been found in the gravels of the period. These may or may not have been made by human hands, and they form too precarious a foundation on which to build the theory that man lived when the great ice-sheets were covering millions of square miles in Europe and in North America. But when the Glacial Period was fast passing away, and when the continental ice-sheets had shrunk up into local mountain glaciers, Man was certainly present both in Europe and in North America, and his

remains are found in many bone-caves in England, France, and Germany, and also in those of North America. Man lived then in these countries alongside of animals, many of which have become extinct, such as the *Mammoth*, the *Mastodon*, the *Machairodus*, and the *Urus*. In addition to these, the rhinoceros, musk-ox, hippopotamus, and reindeer were hunted by man; and in South America he was contemporaneous with gigantic sloths and monstrous carnivora. Man in this Post-Glacial time has been named "Palæolithic Man" because he used only *rude* stone weapons, whereas his successors in the next age are termed "Neolithic Men," because their weapons were of *ground* and *polished* stone. There is no satisfactory evidence that Man existed before the Glacial Period, and as he appeared on earth only when the Glacial Period proper had passed away, it is necessary, if we would estimate the Antiquity of Man, to ascertain how long ago the Glacial Period came to an end. In England, such geologists as Professor Prestwich and Mr Mackintosh have concluded from the small amount of erosion done by streams in glacial beds, and from the rate of ice-movement, that the Glacial Period closed at a comparatively recent date. In North America, however, Dr Wright informs us that it is possible to be more precise, and he gives some most ingenious calculations founded upon the rate at which waterfalls are cutting back their channels, the excavation of which began when the retreat of the ice-sheets permitted the rivers to commence their work of erosion. The Falls of Niagara, the raised beaches on Lake Michigan, and the Falls of St Anthony may all be called "glacial chronometers," and from an examination of them, Dr Wright concludes that the Glacial Period in North America came to an end not more than 8000 years ago. The same result may—roughly speaking—be accepted for Europe, as the Ice-Age in the two continents was contemporaneous. Hence the conclusion is reached that Man has not, so far as geology shows, existed on the earth for more than 8000 years. This is certainly a startling conclusion in face of the very different theories of man's antiquity which are often put forward.

The Glacial Period is a great mystery, and has given rise to an extraordinary amount of controversy. It is difficult to account for the origin of these great ice-sheets, and equally difficult to imagine that they could excavate valleys and carve out lake basins, and much patient investigation will be needed before the mystery can be fully explained. Meanwhile, we thank Dr Wright for a very readable book on this difficult subject. Its style is clear, its illustrations admirable, and its moderate price puts it within reach of all readers. The Biblical student will also find it full of interest, especially as regards the extreme views current on the Antiquity of Man.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

**Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott im Anschluss an
Luther dargestellt.**

Von Dr W. Herrmann, Professor im Marburg. Zweite gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage. Stuttgart: Cotta. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 282. Price, M. 4.50.

PROFESSOR HERRMANN of Marburg is one of the most influential representatives of the reigning Ritschlian tendency in Germany, and the book before us is perhaps the most characteristic product of that tendency which has yet appeared. On this account, apart from its other merits, it deserves attentive consideration. Professor Herrmann is probably the disciple of Ritschl who keeps nearest to the lines of the master, but none the less he has a distinctive standpoint, and develops his thoughts with marked independence and originality. His chief early work, published in 1879, was that entitled *Die Religion im Verhältniss zum Welterkennen und zur Sittlichkeit* ("The Relation of Religion to the Knowledge of the World and to Morality"), which may be said to lay the scientific foundations of his system. In this work, on the basis of a theory of knowledge and a practical philosophy essentially Kantian, he contends that the deepest thing in man is his feeling of self (*Selbstgefühl*), to which religion and morality are alike related as means. It is the practical impulse—the claim for this satisfaction of self—which yields the idea of a world-whole. Religion is needed to unite the two spheres—the natural and the moral—through the idea of God. God, on this theory, does not hold an original, but only an accessory and secondary relation to the soul. It follows that perfect certitude of His existence, and above all, actual communion with Him, can only be grounded on external revelation. These thoughts are not prominent in Herrmann's later works, but are far from being retracted by him, and need to be kept in view for the proper understanding of his standpoint. His recent writings have all one keynote—the origin of faith, the ground of Christian certainty, the source of communion with God, the experience of redemption, in the fact of Christ's historical appearance, and the revelation of God made to us in Him. It is this also which forms the subject of the present work.

The first edition of the "Verkehr" was published in 1886, and was speedily exhausted. The present edition is much more than a reprint of the former. It is enlarged by nearly eighty pages. Its divisions are recast, and a great part of the text has been re-written. The principal changes are in the first part, treating of Mysticism, which now forms a division by itself, and in the second and third divisions of the old edition, now combined as chap. iii. of the new.

Internally, the new edition is marked by some abatement of the keen polemical tone which gave offence to opponents in the old, and by the attempt to remove objections by ampler explanations. Some passages which struck us as significant in the older edition have disappeared, and in their place a good deal of new matter is incorporated, parts of which are also highly suggestive.

It may be said at once that the "*Verkehr*" is not an easy book to read. This does not arise from any special difficulty in the language, which is clear and nervous throughout, but is due partly to the novel and paradoxical character of the thoughts—it must be added, to their frequent indefiniteness and lack of internal cohesion—and partly to a most tantalising absence of method in the treatment. Within the limits of his main divisions, and often in disregard of them, Professor Herrmann roams about with a supreme freedom in the discussion of his subjects, doubles again and again on his own thoughts, is unceasing in the iteration of his leading ideas, and generally has as many turnings and windings in his course as the river Mississippi. It is much to say for the book that, notwithstanding these faults of method, it seldom loses its hold upon the reader, but rather impresses him cumulatively with a sense of its pervading forcefulness and vitality.

It will be the simplest plan in this notice, without attempting to follow it in all its windings, to give a general account of the book, then to state what seems necessary to be said upon it in the way of criticism.

In the Introduction (pp. 1-12), after a well-deserved tribute to the revivifying influence of Ritschl on theology, Herrmann goes on to show that the great question of the hour is how to bring back those to Christianity who, to their own great spiritual impoverishment, and that of their age, have become estranged from it. The cause of their estrangement is that they have lost faith in the presuppositions on which the old theology rested. Two ways are open in dealing with this evil: either, first, to seek a new grounding for these presuppositions (the authority of the Word of God, &c.), which have hitherto been regarded as indispensable for becoming a Christian; or, second, to discover some new way of access to the Gospel which can dispense with these presuppositions. The latter is Ritschl's method. If we ask what personal Christianity is, all Christians will agree in the answer: it is "a '*Verkehr*' (intercourse, converse, communion) of the soul with the living God mediated through Christ" (p. 5). This is the point on which Christians are fundamentally at one; they can never be got to agree about a sum of doctrines. The first and most important task of theology, therefore, is to investigate the nature of this "*Verkehr*," or manner of the intercourse of the Christian with God (p. 9), for it is on differ-

ences of view on this subject that all other differences will be found to depend. This defines the problem of the book.

The body of the book is divided into three chapters, the first, entitled "The Opposition of the Christian Religion to Mysticism," dealing with what this "Verkehr" of the Christian with God is *not*; the remaining two, headed respectively, "The Converse (intercourse) of God with Us," and "Our Converse (intercourse) with God," dealing with the positive aspects of the "Verkehr." It will be seen that this term "Verkehr" is a difficult one to translate precisely. It is a strong term, and withal an unusual one in this connection. It means more than communion (*Gemeinschaft*), and gives the idea of familiar, intimate, actual intercourse between God and man. We shall see as we proceed how far Professor Herrmann's theology actually provides for such intercourse.

The first chapter is on "The Opposition of the Christian Religion to Mysticism" (pp. 13-43), and here we come on one of the most characteristic positions of the book, and of Ritschl's theology. It has hitherto been the belief of nearly all that religion has in it a mystical element—that a direct experimental contact between God and the soul—direct communion with his Spirit—is of the very nerve and essence of religion. This, however, according to Ritschl and Professor Herrmann (and quite in the line of their philosophical presuppositions), is an entire mistake, and even a pernicious error. Direct inward communion with God is an illusion. There is but one way of intercourse with God, and that is through the historical manifestation of God in Jesus Christ eighteen hundred years ago. Herrmann rightly puts his treatment of this point at the beginning of his book, for it is here at the outset we must come to an understanding with his theory of religion and of Christianity. He does not deny that in the life of the soul in religion there is something mysterious and incommunicable, or that its intercourse with God through Christ is attended by excitations of feeling. But he does deny that in any way God is immediately present to it in these experiences—otherwise than in the objective historical manifestation. The opposite view—that which admits the possibility of a direct access of God to the soul, and our immediate communion with Him here and now—he repudiates as Mysticism, and brands as the Catholic type of piety. Its vice is, that it does not bind up intercourse with God indissolubly with the Person of the historical Christ, but regards Christ and positive Christianity as only means to the attainment of a higher stage of communion with God; therefore, as something which may be dispensed with when this higher stage is reached. It is "a particular form of religion, namely, a piety which feels the historical in the positive religions to be a burden, and casts it off" (p. 18). With much that

Herrmann says in criticism of this Catholic type of piety which belittles the historical it is possible to agree ; but it is surely practicable to correct this over-driving of mysticism in the Catholic Church without going to the opposite extreme, and denying *all* immediate intercourse of the soul with God. Herrmann, however, will hear of no *via media*. He will cut out mysticism from religion root and branch. He acknowledges, indeed, that mysticism sets before it the true aim when it seeks God Himself, not merely the gifts of God (p. 20). This is its attraction. But the question is, "Whether it seeks God as a Christian ought to seek Him, and whether the God it thinks to find is the living God of our faith" (p. 21). The question thus returns to the real nature of the "Verkehr."

The second chapter of the book, accordingly, deals with the manner of "God's Converse (intercourse) with Us" (pp. 44-162). The answer to this question, repeated in every variety of expression throughout the chapter, is that the intercourse of God with us is only through the historical personality of Jesus Christ. God can only be known to us on the ground of a revelation of Himself. But a doctrine about God would not serve this purpose. A doctrine could only tell us how we ought to represent God to ourselves. The certainty that God is actually present with us can only be given through a *fact*. "Now we Christians think that we know only one fact in the whole world which could do that, viz., the historical appearance of Jesus handed down to us in the New Testament. Our certainty of God roots itself in the fact that, in the historical domain to which we ourselves belong, we meet with the man Jesus as something undoubtedly real. Since Jesus raises us to fellowship with God, He becomes to us the Christ. The confession that Jesus is the Christ is the genuine Christian confession. But it means, rightly understood, nothing else than this, that through the man Jesus we are for the first time taken up into a true fellowship with God" (p. 47). The certainty of this fact, according to Herrmann, rests on its own immediate evidence. He will not allow it—and this is the next important point to be noticed—to rest in any degree on historical evidence. "It is impossible that religious conviction should depend on a historical judgment" (p. 57), which at best could only give probability. Therefore it is not to be allowed to rest on historical grounds at all. It has "nothing to do with a historical judgment" (p. 57). We cannot believe on the testimony of others—even of apostles (p. 64). This is a point laboured at great length, and returned to again and again in the course of the volume. Connected with it is the idea that faith is not a product of our own decision, but springs from the overmastering impression (Eindruck) we receive from Christ, which compels submission (pp.

29, 46, 57, 174, 177, 183, &c.). Instead of "believe all," "the man who will be saved must rather say, believe nothing but that which the fact you see forces you to believe" (p. 66). More precisely, it is "the inner life" of Jesus, conveyed to us by the historical tradition, which exercises upon us this irresistible power. What, then, is the content of this "impression" we receive from Christ? The connection of thoughts here is the following:—First, as respects Jesus himself, we are compelled to recognise in Him, not only the highest of those who have joyfully suffered for the sake of the good, but one who in no wise fell short of the ideal for which He offered Himself up—a perfectly sinless being. "He is Himself not less than His knowledge and His words" (p. 72). The proof of Christ's sinlessness Herrmann rather originally connects with the words at the Last Supper (p. 70). Next, we see in Christ one who is confident of His power to put men in possession of their highest good, which is another name for the Kingdom of God. But by the Kingdom of God Christ means that God rules in the hearts of men and in their intercourse one with another. And this can only be brought about if, through the impression produced upon them by His personality, there is awakened in them unreserved trust in God, and, in consequence of this, pure love to one another (pp. 73-75). Again, we have to inquire, what is it in the impression which produces this result? And we are told (1) it is the irresistible conviction wrought in us of "a Power over all things" working in and with Jesus for the victory of the good (pp. 75-6, 89, &c.). "Jesus has grounded in us, through the fact of His personal life, a certainty of God superior to every doubt" (p. 75). (2) Since Jesus, through whom this power, *i.e.*, God, is made certain and apprehensible to us, shows Himself friendly to those who feel themselves estranged from God, we gain the conviction that His God is our God, and are lifted into the domain of the love of God (p. 77). "God so enters into this intercourse with us, that He at the same time thereby forgives our sins" (p. 77). (3) Finally, if through this fact of the working of Christ's Person upon us we have come to know that God reveals Himself to us, and turns His love upon us, then the world also is thereby changed to us (p. 97). These things cannot be proved. "We can only show how a man is inwardly transformed if he, in the influence of the Person of Jesus upon him, finds and understands the intercourse ('Verkehr') of God" (p. 98). The chapter goes on to warn of the danger of substituting for this immediate impression of God in Christ ready-made doctrines of the Godhead of Christ and of the atonement, and endeavours to show what place remains for these doctrines in the new theology.

The third chapter, on "Our Converse with God" (pp. 163-282),

must be touched on very briefly. As God draws near to us in Christ, so do we open up our hearts to Him in prayer. But prayer, if it is not to be a mere cry of anguish, must attach itself to the fact that God turns Himself towards us in Christ. It has thus its source in faith in the historical revelation (pp. 163-64). As respects the nature of prayer, we are told later that it is not an asking for earthly blessings. Its peculiar effect is in relieving us of our burden through the trust in God which it calls forth (pp. 267-68). The ground-traits of Christian piety generally are deducible from the way in which God appears to us and works upon us in Christ. We are thus brought back again to the "Eindruck" and to faith, and long discussions ensue as to whether faith is a human work (pp. 174-83), as to the historicity of the Gospel narratives (pp. 183-87), the question of miracles (pp. 187-92), the relation of faith to doctrines, &c. Our space will not permit us to follow in detail the exposition of the various aspects of Christian piety. Very interesting, and likewise very instructive, from the Ritschlian point of view, is the discussion in pp. 236-41 of the relation of Christian piety to faith in the exalted Christ, and the hope of a future vision of Christ, "otherwise than in the glass of history, and with eyes looking out from the midst of the earthly struggle" (p. 240). Yet that Christ "lives and rules" is held by Herrmann to be only a "thought of faith," springing from the peculiar relation of Christ to God, and not to be based on any such fact as the Resurrection (pp. 236-39). It is expressly laid down that "of any intercourse with the exalted Christ there can be no mention" (p. 238). In this chapter, also, are found Herrmann's views on the new birth, the Church, and similar topics.

It will be readily acknowledged, even by those who most disagree with Professor Herrmann, that in the work thus imperfectly sketched there is much that is true, valuable, fresh, and strikingly put. As a protest against an excessive intellectualism in religion, a hard and dry orthodoxy, and a sentimental pietism, which loses the historical in its concentration on inward feelings and experiences, it has its real uses. But Herrmann is not content with this. His book is a most unsparing polemic against the old theology. No system satisfies him. He holds all alike to be on wrong foundations. The work of theology has to be done *de novo* from the standpoint of faith in Christ, as he describes it. In this work of reconstruction he will call no man master, not even Luther—whose name he puts on his title-page—not even the apostles. There is no gain in turning from the Pope to the apostles (p. 30). If the present work is "im Anschluss an Luther," he is careful to explain that it is not Luther the scholastic, but Luther the reformer to whom he attaches himself (p. 131, *cf.* p. 37). With his sturdy individualism, it would

have been better and more consistent if he had dropped the reference to Luther altogether. The boldness of these claims—to use no stronger term—compels one to apply a somewhat strict measure to Herrmann's new religious position and theology. We will not delay on his polemic against the old mode of conceiving Christianity; nor will we wait to ask whether he always fairly represents the old theology which he assails, or whether many of his complaints against it would not apply as well to the theology of the New Testament. But a few criticisms may be offered by way of testing how far his own reading of Christianity can make good its claim to exclusive worth.

1. Our first point of criticism relates to that which is the basis of the whole system—the fact of the historic personality of Jesus. It is easy to see, from the way in which he labours the point, how embarrassed Herrmann is with his extraordinary paradox of a faith in a historical revelation which is yet to rest on no historical grounds. It is possible, of course, to point out many reasons for belief in the general historicity of the Gospel narratives (pp. 53-60, &c.). But these are mentioned only to be discarded as the ground of faith, or any part of it. It is the immediate experience of the power of Christ's inner life which alone is to convince us. But applying this subjective test, we have soon occasion to ask: Are our feet really on rock, or on quicksand? For, first, we learn that the faith born from this source is to be compatible with the freest treatment of the evangelical narratives by the historical critic (p. 60). Next, it is to be compatible with the rejection of everything in the narrative of the nature of "miracle,"—the supernatural birth, the miracles of the ministry, the resurrection, &c. (pp. 64, 83, 190-99),—and one merit of it, apparently, in Herrmann's view, is that it is so. Finally, it is to be unaffected even if historical inquiry should resolve the bulk of the Gospel history into legend (pp. 66, 191). "For such an one the chief fact would remain as for us" (p. 66). It is evident, when all this is conceded, how little remains to us in the way of sure historical fact—how exceedingly vague the impression of a Personality must be which comes to us from behind all these clouds! Yet on this, according to Herrmann, our certainty of God, of salvation, of the future, of everything of value in religion, is to depend! We fancy the doubter will rub his eyes in wonder at this view of the irrefragable basis of *fact* laid for his faith!

2. Our second point of criticism relates to Herrmann's attitude on the subject of doctrine. Doctrines of any kind he will have none of till a man has first been laid hold of and redeemed by the immediate overmastering power of the impression which Christ makes upon him. Doctrines originate *within* the intercourse with God to

which Jesus raises us (p. 36). Then they develop in an inexhaustible fulness of "thoughts of faith" (pp. 6, 36). We will not discuss at present the soundness of this contention, though its one-sidedness, we should imagine, is very apparent. We only desire to ask: How, on his own showing, can Herrmann escape the charge of boundless subjectivity in theology? It is not clear, indeed, how on his basis, we can get a theology at all. Everything swims in such vagueness, in such generality; we are not allowed to attach ourselves to words or thoughts of others, even of apostles; everyone, apparently, must be left to himself to develop his "thoughts of faith" in his own way,—always, however, with the proviso that they are to be on the Ritschlian pattern; none is at liberty to sit in judgment on his neighbour. Herrmann's only answer is: "If still an opponent appears with the reproach that we dissolve Christianity into the subjective, it can only be supposed that for him Jesus is nothing objective" (p. 37). But this answer is valueless so soon as it is conceded that Jesus for each individual is the subjective impression which Jesus makes on that individual. Herrmann, indeed, has analysed the "Verkehr," but who will guarantee that his analysis will be accepted by others as correct, or that the development of their "thoughts of faith" will be on the same lines as his own? Herrmann's theology, in short, lands us in a new case of "*Homo Mensura*," and with so subjective a basis, and the entire absence of a controlling standard, it could not be otherwise.

3. Our third point of criticism relates to Herrmann's repudiation of the mystical in religion, and his doctrine of the "Verkehr." This is perhaps the strangest of the strange paradoxes of Herrmann's system, and has some startling consequences. (1) It leaves unexplained revelation in Christ Himself. For if God has no direct access to the souls of men—can only approach them, as it were, from without—how was revelation possible in the case of Christ? (2) It isolates Christ from past revelation. Especially it leaves unexplained Old Testament revelation. Herrmann in this second edition makes an attempt to deal with this difficulty. He will not deny that Israel had a revelation of some sort, but only says: "The facts which wrought on them as revelations of God have no more this power for us" (p. 49). But have they not? Is there no revelation of God for us still in the voices of psalmists and prophets, or in the wondrous history of the chosen people? (3) It not less isolates Christ from His people, alike in His relation of fellowship with God and in the manifestation of the presence and power of God through Him. We had been wont to conceive of Christ's Sonship—of the new relation to God exemplified in His Person—as the type of ours. But it cannot be so on Herrmann's principles. Moreover, if it is the impression we receive of the

presence and love of God in Christ which alone makes Him a revelation of God to us, is Herrmann right in saying that this revelation is altogether confined to Christ? Have we not all known lives, to be near which was to feel that God was present? This, however, only leads up to the crucial point at which issue must ultimately be joined with Herrmann's theory—the point, namely, of the real nature of this "Verkehr" of the Christian with God. And here it must be contended, in opposition to his view, that, say what he will, a converse with God which is only the realisation of a revelation given to the world in Christ eighteen hundred years ago is no real converse with God *now*, such as the soul aspires after, and such as we believe the religion of Christ gives. Herrmann's own words here may judge his theory. "We can only speak of an intercourse with God, if we are certain that God perceptibly speaks to us, but also that He perceives our speech, and has regard to it in His working upon us" (p. 44). How, we ask, is this condition fulfilled if God's only means of communication with us is through the historic appearance of Jesus long centuries ago? What, besides, does Herrmann understand by God's action upon us in response to our speech to him? Is this action wholly external? Is there no direct touch of spirit by spirit? Or if there is, is it not perceptible—does it never rise into the region of consciousness? Again, he says: "Only in the prayer kindled through this experience can the Christian be certain that God perceives him, and answers him in the movement of his heart" (p. 164)? Does not this touch the borders of the mystical? But in truth Herrmann's pages abound with expressions which have no appropriateness, unless on that very theory of a direct contact between God and the soul which he rejects. Yet, when we come to press them, they are found to mean no more than the action upon us of the historical Christ (p. 264).

4. We should have liked, had space permitted, to have glanced at Herrmann's attitude to one or two special doctrines in theology—particularly the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, and the satisfaction doctrine. The doctrine of Christ's "Godhead" Herrmann retains in name, but apparently only in the sense that His Person is to us a revelation of God (pp. 98-102, 112, &c.), though it is to be admitted that higher elements are implied in his confession of Christ as exalted. But it is left in great ambiguity how one, who apparently is recognised as only man, should yet be honoured and worshipped as God. On the atonement doctrine, it need scarcely be said that Herrmann rejects the orthodox view of satisfaction, yet there are one or two most significant passages, of which we would gladly have had fuller explanation, in which the necessity for some sort of satisfaction appears to be recognised. Herrmann is at least emphatic in his rejection of the view—which, he thinks, is

improperly attributed to Ritschl—that the divine forgiveness of sins is a self-evident deduction from the Fatherly love of God (pp. 103-10), and that the Gospel consists simply in the proclamation of this Fatherly love of God (p. 104). Forgiveness is rather, to him who experiences it, “a surprising revelation of love” (p. 205). This is the truth which the old atonement doctrine guards against Rationalism and Socinianism (p. 103). Christ’s relation to it is that of one who, while He dispenses forgiveness, at the same time does all that is necessary to establish the irrefragable right of the moral order of God (p. 108). It is this which gives the understanding of the substitutionary sufferings of Christ. “The believer involuntarily says to himself, in looking back on the work of Jesus, what we should have had to suffer, he suffers” (p. 107). One would like to see more clearly how, without the help of Herrmann’s peculiar ethical theory, these thoughts are immediately deducible from the primary experience, and how their development can be depended on as “thoughts of faith” in others. Above all, one would like to know exactly what they mean.

5. This leads to the final remark, that in the development of his theology, and of his views generally, Herrmann’s philosophical presuppositions are a greater co-operating factor than he cares always to allow. There is, indeed, a naïve admission of the fact in various passages of the book, to which, without further quotation, the reader’s attention may be directed (pp. 69, 77, 80, 81). But the same might be shown from an examination of the theology itself.

We believe that a translation of this work is contemplated, and when it appears, it will no doubt give rise to a more thorough discussion of Herrmann’s views on this side of the Channel.

JAMES ORR.

Untersuchungen über die äussere Entwicklung der afrikanischen Kirche, mit besonderer Verwertung der archäologischen Funde.

Von Dr Alexis Schwartze. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 194. Price, M. 7.

FEW chapters in early ecclesiastical history present more interesting features than those which are concerned with the organisation, progress, and fate of the Christian Church in that northern region of Africa, of which Carthage was the political centre. The strip of land now known as Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, hemmed in by the Atlas range on the south, and the Mediterranean on the north and

east, was inhabited by a mixture of heterogeneous races. The fierce and undisciplined Numidians and Mauretanians, the chief elements of the population, were themselves of mixed parentage; deriving their blood partly from the prehistoric dolmen-builders, and partly from a Hamitic ancestry related to the people of ancient Egypt. The Phœnician colonists, eminently aristocratic and exclusive in their instincts, and expert in military organisation, were long the dominant race in the eastern regions. Mixed with these, though in smaller numbers, were Jews, Syrians, Greeks, Romans, and Negroes. It was only to be expected that this mass of incoherent elements, which it had taxed the resources of the Roman power to bring into subjection, would exercise a remarkable influence on any movement in which they unitedly took part.

The African Church has scarcely attracted so large a share of the attention of modern ecclesiastical historians as its importance warrants. It was the Church of Tertullian, of Cyprian, and of Augustine. To it we owe the earliest as well as the most definite post-apostolic formulation of the doctrines of grace, of predestination, of free-will, and justification by faith. It was to this Church also that we owe the first clear statement of the fundamental doctrine of High Churchism, the co-extensiveness of the invisible Church with the visible. To Africa we probably are indebted for the first Latin version of the Scriptures. The very heresies of this Church were characterised by a sternness of exclusivism, and they contrast strongly with the compromise heresies of earlier and contemporary Christianity elsewhere. The history is one of suffering and sorrow, written for many years in the blood of saints, whose memorials form a precious chapter in Christian martyrology. Such a Church is well worthy of a careful and critical study.

Dr Schwartzé has therefore chosen an interesting theme for his essay, and he has produced a monograph in most respects worthy of such a suggestive subject. He has evidently made himself master of the materials of the history, documentary and epigraphic; and has presented the results of this literary labour in a form which is concise and clear, though largely dealing with matters of detail.

A history which specially deals with the knowledge gained from inscriptions must, of necessity, be little better than a skeleton. As such, it is of incalculable value, for it gives us names, dates, and contemporary records of facts. When the available material is, as in the case before us, chiefly derived from fragmentary necropolitan relics, it is hard to prevent its being dry and disconnected. But although there is in this work something of the inflexibility and discursiveness, inseparable from the nature of the material, yet Dr Schwartzé has infused much of the spirit which animated the living Church into the bones on which his history is based.

The scope of his study is limited to the history of the development of the external organisation of the Church through its five centuries of existence, illustrated by notes on the persons whose commemorative inscriptions are quoted. So far as this limitation of range goes, the author has done his work well, and he has shown an intimate acquaintance with the great three-volume monograph of the Jesuit Morcelli, *Africa Christiana*, and he has studied to good purpose the other and more modern sources of knowledge on African epigraphy. The doctrinal developments which arose in the African Church do not come within the scope of his work, so they are passed by unnoticed; but there is room for an additional section dealing with the examination of the environing forces, internal and external, which influenced the Church in the course of its growth; and an estimate of the relative effects of these several forces in moulding its character.

We have no monumental, and but little documentary evidence as to the route along which the doctrines of Christianity made their way to the northern part of Africa. Accordingly, Dr Schwartze passes over this subject with a scanty notice, only raising the question of a possibly Pauline origin for the African Church, but he shows a disposition to discredit the tradition of any apostolic beginning. The Apostle is supposed to have evangelised Spain, as he proposed to do in his Epistle to the Romans (xv. 28). He may have crossed into Tingitana,¹ but as that district was, ecclesiastically, the most backward in North Africa, it is scarcely probable that it was the cradle of the Church.

The earlier African fathers knew nothing of any apostolic origin for the Church in their land; and it is not until a comparatively late date that we find any such claim made. Nicephorus Callistus states in his history (ii. 40) that the Apostle, Simon the zealot, preached in Libya, but it is not at all improbable that the notion originated from a confusion in the mind of that inaccurate historian between Simon the zealot and Simon the Cyrenian. In the sixth century, the Numidian bishops, writing to Pope Pelagius II., claimed that they derived their authority from St Peter; and a similar view seems also to have been held by Salvianus Massiliensis, from his statement, *quam quondam doctrinis suis apostoli instituerant*. The want of foundation for such an opinion was pointed out long ago by Stephanus Baluzius. Tertullian explicitly states that the North African Church had received both its gospel and its church organisation from Rome, *unde evangelium ad ipsam Africam venit*, and, *unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est*.

There are two passages in the writings of St Augustine which seem to point to an eastern source for Numidian Christianity, but it is not impossible that both these opinions may be historically

correct. There were natives of the parts of Libya about Cyrene at the Pentecostal sermon of St Peter, and these may have brought the tidings of the Gospel to their homes. It may thence have spread through Tripolitana; but this is unlikely; for we find in later days that this region was sparsely supplied with churches, as if it were the fringe of evangelisation rather than its thoroughfare.

On the other hand, when we remember the close maritime connection of Rome with Carthage, we cannot doubt that, of the Jews expelled by Claudius, and later, by Nero, from Rome, some would find their way to Africa and bring with them the doctrines of the new sect. At any rate it is more than probable that the first systematic union of African believers into an organised church took place under Italian influence. Certainly both Diognetus and Irenæus were acquainted with the existence of a Church in Africa, as they make specific reference to the preaching of the Gospel there.

If we may believe South European testimony, the moral state of this region was one of extreme degradation when the Gospel reached Africa. Salvianus testifies that while every other nation has some redeeming virtue, he knows nothing in Africa which is not evil. There is, however, some tincture of polemic bitterness in his judgment, for, speaking of the state of Africa after it had received the gospel, he says, *exceptis enim paucissimis Dei servis, quid fuit totum Africæ territorium quàm domus una vitiorum, cæneo illi similis de quo dicit propheta?*

In the first section of his work, Dr Schwartz gives a brief sketch of the successive changes in the political divisions of Africa from the close of the second Punic war to the ultimate overthrow of the Roman power. The provinces varied at different times in number, as well as in boundaries, and the subordinate dioceses also varied; diocese being one of the many terms which the Church has taken over from ancient political nomenclature. These alterations have some importance after the second century, as the ecclesiastical districts bore certain, though not always definite, relations to the political divisions. In this part Schwartz follows Marquardt and Pallu de Lessert, but quotes some inscriptions which have escaped the notice of other authors.

In the second section, and as briefly, he traces the growth of the subdivisions of the territory of the early Christian Church. The first record of the Church in its corporate capacity is the assembling of seventy bishops in Carthage under the presidency of Agrippinus in A.D. 197 to discuss the validity of baptism administered by heretics. In referring to this, Morcelli considers that, as these bishops are said to have come from Proconsular Africa and Numidia, it was therefore a synod of two provinces, Mauretania, the third province,

being excluded (ii. 47); but Schwartz favours the view that the language of Cyprian in speaking of this convocation (*ad Quint. epist. 71*) refers really to the political rather than to the Church divisions. It is also significant that in A.D. 240 the synod which assembled at Lambasis to condemn Privatus, the heretical bishop of that place, had its judgment reversed by Donatus, Bishop of Carthage (Cyprian, *ad Cornelium*, 55). There seems, therefore, at that time to have been no strict delimitation of ecclesiastical provinces, and the synods were at first presbyterial gatherings, under permanent moderators, with interim executive powers.

By the middle of the third century the three political divisions, Proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, were recognised as independent ecclesiastical provinces. A hundred years later there were seven Church provinces recognised in North Africa, including Sardinia and the Balearic Islands, but excluding Tingitana, which was reckoned as belonging to Spain. In summing up these various changes, Schwartz for the most part follows Morcelli, but in some details he differs on monumental evidence.

The third section is devoted to tracing the epigraphic remains of the African Church in its territorial distribution. The richness of North Africa in inscriptions has been shown in the works of Beulé, De Rossi, and many others. Our own Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, had noted this abundance of historic remains, as we learn from the interesting work of Col. Playfair, "Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce."

The monumental history of the African Church begins in the early years of the third century, and Dr Schwartz discusses successively the Christian inscriptions as they occur in each province. As might have been expected the memorials of early Christianity are most interesting, although not most numerous, in Proconsular Africa. In Zeugitana, its northern division, Carthage was situated, with at least twenty churches. Its cathedral was the Restituta Church, and Schwartz favours the opinion of Delattre in identifying it with the Basilica major, in which were the tombs of the martyrs Felicitas and Perpetua. Of the many hundred monuments published by Delattre and others, the important ones are selected and their inscriptions reproduced. Most of the early Christians bore Latinised names, but there are some truly African like Jugurtha and Medden. The bodies are found in graves, or in sarcophagi of stone, or of earthenware. In one cemetery in Lepti minus broken bones were found in great urns of terra cotta.

Christian inscriptions are most numerous in the Province of Numidia, which included many important seats of early Christian Churches such as Cedia, Cirta, Aquæ Caesaris, Theveste, Hippo Regius, many of which localities occupied a prominent place in the

history of the Donatist heresy. It was in Numidia that the first martyr in Africa suffered for Christ, but of him, Namphamo of Madaura, no monument has been found. There are, however, inscriptions from Hamâscha near Aquæ Caesaris commemorating some of those who are mentioned by Maximus as his fellow-martyrs. Of these Miggin, Stiddin, and Mettun likewise bore Punic names. These suffered about A.D. 180; not unlikely about the same time as Speratus and his companions the martyrs of Scili. Of these and others, too numerous to note, the author has collected the existing memorials. Dr Schwartz has made a careful study of the data with regard to the chronology of these martyrs, but has elicited nothing to alter the conclusion arrived at by Görres (*Jahrbücher f. protest. Theol.*, x. 261). The materials of the history have also been considered by Neumann (*Der römische staat. u. d. allgemeine Kirche*, i. p. 77. See also *Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theologie*, xxiv., 1881, p. 382). Monumental evidences of the Christian Church also exist, but more sparingly, in Mauretania, becoming fewer as we travel westward.

The last and longest section of the monograph deals with the history of the period of the persecutions as illustrated by the monuments, and incidentally the successive changes in the attitude of the State towards the Church are also considered. The numerous relics of these troublous times are passed in review. The author follows in detail the several periods of persecution, examining their respective dates and durations as shown by the monuments. The section on the great Valerian persecution contains a reference to the martyrdom of Cyprian, and of the numerous martyrs of Numidia who suffered at that time. The breathing-space of peace in the days of Gallienus, and the attitude of that emperor towards Christianity, are next considered. The great Diocletian persecution, which raged furiously in Africa, is the subject of a careful and judicious study. The author examines the evidence as to the causation of that outburst, and although he is reviewing a well-trodden field, yet he surveys it in a fresh and interesting manner, and gives a clear and concise statement as to the circumstances which led to the successive edicts. The records of this persecution are considered in detail, and the epigraphic references to it are traced over the several provinces at length. The edict of Galerius, which is preserved by Eusebius (viii. 17), introduces us to another period, one of rest from imperial persecution, but, as the local historical records show us, the troubles of the Christians did not yet end with this cessation. The zeal of the Christians in destroying monuments of idolatry frequently brought them into collision with their heathen neighbours. St Augustine gives us instances of this kind, such as the episode at Sufes, where sixty Christians, while

they were engaged in destroying an image of Hercules, lost their lives in a conflict with their fellow-countrymen.

The period of Vandal domination, which succeeded to that of Rome, is next passed in review, and the monumental evidences of the sufferings of the Catholic Church at the hands of the Arian invaders are dealt with. This portion of the history is very carefully revised, although the inscriptions of this time are neither as numerous nor as suggestive as those of the period of Roman domination. Such as they are, they are of a certain amount of value, but Dr Schwartze is not able to add much to the sum of our knowledge as already set forth in the writings of Papencordt, Dahn, Pötzsch, and Stadler v. Wolfensgrün. The attitudes of the several Vandal kings to the Catholic Church are set forth, and the monumental and historical records of most of the persecutions, especially those under Hunerich, are taken notice of. Some few details, such as the Manichæan persecution in that reign, are unnoticed, but otherwise the successive incidents are followed with painful accuracy and minuteness, and the history is carried down to the final destruction of the Christian Church by the Saracen invasion of A.D. 646.

Dr Schwartze has illustrated his work with figures from various sources of some of the more interesting Christian tombs and altars, and has appended a useful map. Those interested in Church history are indebted to him for a valuable and carefully written contribution to our knowledge of early Christian archæology, and for throwing new light on the progress and sufferings of the African Church.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

Das Prophetische Schrifttum. Exegetisch-kritische Studien vorzüglich auf historischer Grundlage.

Von Wilhelm Reich. I Band, Jesaias. Wien: Oskar Frank's Nachfolger. 8vo. Pp. 280. Price, M. 5.

THERE is a good deal of promise in that title. Now, this is how it is fulfilled. In the preface Herr Reich explains his "historische Grundlage" to be three books. "In order to speak of Isaiah, I have placed Herodotus, the father of history, the Book of the Maccabees, and Josephus, the elequent contemporary of the most extraordinary events, as observatories from which a survey of the meaning, the connection and the division of the chapters may be gained—whether in a retrospect upon the historic facts that ran their course in the time of Isaiah, or in a prospect of such as he had foreseen with prophetic eye." The simplicity of this is delightful; but more delightful still is the survey of which the "Introduction" is com-

posed. Here we have a "history" of the contest of Monotheism with the powers of this world. This "history" starts from the wrestle on the banks of the Jabbok, in which Jacob represents faith in the one God, and his Adversary, who sent him limping away, is at last discovered to be none other than "das Heidentum;" for was it not das Heidentum that kept Israel, the bearer of Monotheism, lame and limping throughout the centuries? And "the history" ends with the dispersion of the Jews by the Romans, "the real victory of Monotheism"—and no word is said about Christ or the rise of Christianity. After this, we are prepared for anything in the body of the book, which consists of 277 pages of a running translation, paraphrase, and commentary of all the chapters of Isaiah in succession. The author has read Hitzig and Wellhausen at least, and mixes the little he has learned from them with interesting and sometimes really helpful notes from Jewish commentators, but far oftener with assertions and fancies of his own of no ordinary kind. Some of these are as follows:—In chapter v., King Jotham is the well-beloved that hath a vineyard. In chapter vii., the sign which Jehovah gives Ahaz, and authenticates Isaiah's mission by, is that the young wife of Ahaz—"this young person here who is *enceinte*—shall bear a son and not a daughter!" In chapter xli., 2, *Who raised up tsedeg from the east*, is rendered, "Who caused Jupiter to shine forth in the east?" and paraphrased, "Who has brought from the far east the Zeus-faith?" Chapter lv., "*behandelt die Vorgeschichte der Hellenismus!*" Chapter lxvi., is without doubt by Ezra. No wonder that the author is moved so often to say that the light never shone upon Isaiah till he arose to interpret him. If this be light, how awful was the darkness of the past! Throughout, the author either ignores the Christian interpretation of the prophecies; or he bursts forth with some such curious comparison as this: "In the first chapter of Isaiah all is contained that is of any consequence in the New Testament. What six hundred years previously Isaiah proclaimed in so high and noble a style, taught and fought for, is now hawked about (*colportirt*) by an upstart Confession as the product of its own genius. For polemical purposes, nothing could turn out better than if one were to place the noble, sublime eloquence of an Isaiah over against the Galilaean idioms of the herald of the new Judaism." This speaks for itself—and for the whole book.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

Faith and Criticism. Essays by Congregationalists—W. H. Bennett, W. F. Adeney, P. T. Forsyth, E. A. Laurence, R. F. Horton, H. Arnold Thomas, F. H. Stead, E. Armitage, and T. Raleigh.

London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 430. Price 6s.

A CONSIDERABLE importance attaches to this volume. It is the work of representative nonconformists who are associated with the recent onward movement of that body. Their desire by its publication is "to help those very numerous seekers after truth whose minds have been disturbed by the work of criticism in Biblical and Theological questions." The Christian position is considered from various points of view. And while frankly accepting the changes on the form of religion and theological thought that have resulted from the progress of Biblical science, the writers point out how little affected by these the substance of the Christian verity is, and how much is really gained that tends to strengthen belief and impart additional clearness to the contents of revelation. There are traces throughout of the influence of Ritschl's thought on the minds of the writers, and the volume is a sign of the progress in this country of the spirit and theological method of that master. These essays are not, however, professedly theological; they have a practical end in view. And from the intelligent and generous sympathy the writers manifest with all that is progressive in modern thought, and the impassioned conviction that glows in every page of the truth of the Christian religion, it cannot fail to be helpful to those for whom it is intended. A brief outline of each of these papers will give a general idea of the way in which the writers accomplish their object.

The first Essay, on the Old Testament, is by Professor Bennett, and deals with the changes on traditional opinion necessitated by the results of Old Testament criticism. Admitting the loss in certain directions, he holds that the gains far outweigh it. The names of the authors of many of the books must now be admitted to be unknown; but that only shows "that inspiration has been more widely diffused and more continuously bestowed than had been supposed" (p. 13). The old dates of many of the books must be given up, but we are now able to place them in their true environment, and their value for the purpose of instruction has been enhanced. A more serious question is that which relates to the historical worth of certain parts of the Old Testament narrative. The primary interest of the writers of the Bible, it must be remembered, is religion; history is to them just one of many vehicles of conveying religious truth; it need not, therefore, be "other than the kind of history natural to the men, the

times, and the circumstances of the writing" (p. 26). It may be that the narrative of the patriarchs is not real history ("although that is a question that individuals will continue to decide according to their sense of the historical and religious necessities of the case"), but the religious value of their narratives will remain unchanged; "for the importance of such lives as those of Abraham and Daniel does not lie in their being unique historical personages, but in their representing Hebrew ideals, the highest life in Israel" (p. 29). In connection with the restatement of the course of Old Testament history consequent on the modern view of the relation of the Pentateuch to the Prophets, the author remarks that it gives us a "conception of the relation of the law and prophets that will not be unwelcome to the reverent faith of earnest Christians" (p. 35). In summing up the results generally of what has been achieved in Old Testament criticism, he says, "our knowledge does not go back so far in time, nor include so long a list of historical persons and incidents, but our understanding of the method and purpose of revelation has been deepened and extended" (p. 46). The Essay covers a large extent of ground. The points mentioned may suffice to indicate the drift of the reasoning. The whole is eminently thoughtful and suggestive.

Professor Adeney, in the second Essay, pursues the same enquiry in relation to the New Testament. The latest critical researches tend to establish the historicity of the New Testament narratives both in respect to the life of Christ and the age of the apostles. But on this field the problem emerges, how far the existence of diverse types of doctrines in the New Testament, which criticism has placed beyond dispute, affects its binding authority on the faith and conduct. The second and the more interesting half of the Essay is devoted to this topic. The New Testament is authoritative chiefly because it enshrines the Image of Christ. He is the foundation of the authority which it possesses, and the authority of the apostles means much to us in proportion as we believe they were in touch with Christ, and were in possession of His Spirit. Plainly the right of private judgment remains to us in dealing with the writings of the apostles, but the exercise of this right is limited by many considerations, above all by this, that these writings are religious, and "religious excellence can be judged only by people who are experts in religion." We cannot allege on behalf of the teachings of the New Testament an illimitable authority; it is limited by the subject-matter, which is religion. Now that verbal infallibility is given up, there is no rigorous external authority, such as some crave, that shall for ever silence all questioning. There is no unmistakeable and unanswerable court of appeal. The inquiry after an absolute authority is purely academic. The New

Testament aims at practical guidance. "We turn to the truths of this book that we may find in them weapons for this great war with sin and misery, instruments for winning the world to Christ, tools for shaping the ideas and conduct of Christian men and women. If this authority is sufficient to guide our actions in these great concerns, that is all we need; it is all we have in the daily affairs of life" (pp. 90, 91). The author does not apply these main principles to questions of detail, where the importance of them would appear; but he is to be thanked for his honest attempt to vindicate an authority for the New Testament that shall be valid in the religious sphere and for religious ends.

The third Essay, by Mr Forsyth, Leicester, on "Revelation and the Person of Christ," is of special interest for its freshness and originality of treatment. It aims at a full statement of the modern conception of the nature of revelation, as consisting not in a communication of truths, but in a personal manifestation, in a historic fact, the revelation in Christ "of the love, will, presence, and purpose of God for redemption." False ideas of revelation are due, on the one hand, to the false emphasis laid on book religion. "The Bible is not the true *object* of faith, but the *product* of the Church's faith in Christ. It is the echo of the revelation repeated, and in a sense even enhanced, among the hills and valleys of the redeemed inspired soul" (p. 106). If infallibility be carried beyond Christ, if it be not confined to Him, and to Him in His direct equipment for redemption, there is no logical halting-place till we arrive at the Vatican Decrees" (p. 106). The other false idea of revelation is idealism or mysticism, where the affections of the individual or the ideas of a school supersede the historic Christ as the Voice of the Living God, and where the echo of Christ's influence is turned into the criterion of His revelation. This is the virtual denial of revelation. The key to the knowledge of God's revelation is given to us in the conscious experience of the work of Christ. There is no real knowledge of Christ except that which consists of the experience of what He does. The essayist pleads for a Deity of Christ that stands upon, and is interpreted to us by our personal experience of Him and of His forgiving work on man. The technical theology of the "two natures in one person" is useless. Christ's Person can be understood by us only religiously, by His effect in experience, through the sense of the Godhead we have when we experience the redeeming will of God operative upon us when we believe in Him. It will be seen that, in identifying the Person with the work of Christ, and limiting our knowledge of Him to what we learn from the effects upon us of His work, the author agrees with a fundamental position of the school of Ritschl. But I must add that this essay contains abundant refutation of the

charge of Socinianism that is sometimes brought against the followers of that school. We could not have stronger statements than we have here of the Godhead of our Lord, of the uniqueness of His experience, of His entire unlikeness to others in the possession of qualities that constitute Him the object of worship. Indeed, we are at a loss to see how the author can, consistently with expressions he uses on the subject, maintain at the same time the integrity of Christ's humanity, and the reality of His human obedience. For example, he regards the union of Christ with God not as metaphysical, but as moral and religious, bringing it thus within the sphere of our understanding ; while at the same time he denies that it was in any sense achieved by His obedience, or that it deepened or became more intimate with His progress in holiness, thereby relegating it to the region of mystery. The essay furnishes abundant food for thought, and is written in a spirit of religious earnestness that makes it an edifying piece of reading.

In the fourth Essay, on "Christ and the Christian," Mr Eric A. Laurence undertakes to trace the beginning and progress of Christian experience—that is, of conscious life in Christ. The fundamental element in Christian experience is the recognition of the authority of Christ and submission to His will. Out of that germ of life there unfold themselves all other features,—the sense of sin and of the need of reconciliation, filial confidence, the growing conviction of a gracious power at work within us, and a deepening sense of union with God. One is at a loss to know whether in his analysis the author is setting forth the logical order of things or an actual process of life. The latter seems to be intended. But then, may we not ask, Does the Christian life begin with an abstract apprehension of the authority of Christ? Is it not in the apprehension of the Truth and Goodness and Redeeming Power of Christ that His authority is in point of fact recognised? And if so, then must not the sense of sin in one form or another be present in the earliest experiences of the soul's contact with Christ, as well as other elements that are viewed by Mr Laurence as entering at a later stage?

Mr Horton's Essay on the "Atonement" follows, and will be felt by some to be disappointing. It is clear in expression and devout in tone, as everything is that comes from his pen. His contention is, that while beyond all doubt it is the teaching of Scripture that the Death of Christ is the objective ground of pardon and reconciliation with God, the fact admits of no explanation. No theory of the connection between the two things is adequate. The authors of the New Testament writings have no theory. The mistake of theologians has been that they have gone on the idea that the New Testament has a decided and consistent opinion on the subject.

The various theories that have been devised have each of them points of contact with New Testament expressions; but every one of them also, at one point or another, does violence to the testimony of Scripture, and presents the fact under an aspect that misrepresents it. The idea that is at the root of the substitutionary theory, that the vindictive Justice of the Father demands satisfaction, lays itself open to fatal objections, and is as foreign to the real thought of the New Testament writers as the earlier notion of Anselm, that the Divine Honour had been injured by sin, and had to be repaired by the Death of Christ. He sets forth the three great landmarks of truth that stand out in the New Testament, and concludes that while we must believe that the Suffering and Death of our Lord have an essential relation to our redemption, we must be content to recognise the fact, and renounce all attempts to account for it. Mr Horton has done good service in enforcing this distinction between the Fact of the Atonement and theories about it. It is a real distinction and of great practical value. Still, it is difficult to apprehend the fact firmly without the help of some sort of theory. It is certain that explanations, more or less partial and inadequate, have mingled with men's faith in the fact in all those periods of the Church's history, when the experience of the benefits of Christ's death has been vivid and influential, and men will look to theology to give a coherent account of what the religious life, where it is strong, seems to include in its faith. Mr Horton has not embraced in his review later attempts at explanation; indeed, the newer treatment of the whole subject that has followed the deeper study of New Testament theology, and the fresh examination of New Testament ideas, has been overlooked by him.

The sixth Essay, on "Prayer in Theory and Practice," by H. A. Thomas, will be viewed by many as the gem of the volume. It is not possible in a sentence or two to convey any idea of the suggestiveness and spiritual insight that mark the paper. It is pre-eminently fitted to be helpful. The difficulties it deals with are real difficulties, arising out of the tendencies of the age, to which all are more or less sensitive. And nothing can be finer than the way in which he applies the great central truths of Revelation to relieve the pressure of them, and to overcome the indisposition to the exercise of prayer which they foster.

The seventh Essay, on the "Kingdom and the Church," by Mr F. H. Stead, is a very fresh and stimulating one, touching on many matters of burning interest that bear on the practical work of the Church at the present day. The purpose of the paper is to set forth the significance of the idea of the Kingdom of God, in which the social character of the religion of Jesus has been brought home to the conscience of modern Christendom. The Kingdom and the

Church are distinguished as genus and species. The latter is a phase of the former, and bears witness to the truth by which the former is to be realised. That the world may be won for the Kingdom, the members must be associated together, so as to make this their conscious aim. Such an association is the Church; its functions are evangelism, and the edification of its own members. It must have its officers, but what those should be, and their powers, as well as the general form of its government, are matters on which the Church of each age and country, looking at its providential circumstances, is free to determine for itself. Besides its own special work, the Church may assume *supplemental* functions, and has always done so, where the larger interests of the Kingdom call for it, and are not otherwise provided for. It may supplement what is lacking in home life by making provision for the homeless, &c.; it may, and should, organise itself to watch and guide political conduct, to intervene where it can do so with advantage in trade disputes, and in other emergencies of the economic system, and in many other ways to promote the interests of the Kingdom. Then there are the many other organisations within the strictly ecclesiastical sphere that are called forth to meet special needs. "In short, the Church has to supply every lack which cannot otherwise be better supplied, and which hinders the complete development of man." This view of the compass of the Church's function will provoke a difference of opinion. We can see, indeed, that it is not at all the view of the succeeding essayist. But Mr Stead admits, that as the Kingdom advances, and its social structures become more self-dependent, the Church will be relieved of these supplemental duties, and will confine itself to its great central duties of evangelism and mutual edification. Mr Stead has also much that is of interest to say about the union of the churches in the latter part of his essay. The whole paper is valuable as a fresh contribution to many practical problems that are exercising men's minds.

The eighth paper, by Professor Armitage, is a noble plea for Christian Missions. The motive in which the work must be done, he urges, remains unchanged. Loyalty to Christ, and obedience to His own Word, is still the one-inspiring power. The work itself is the same as ever. The difficulties that exist are not greater, he shows, than those that confronted Paul. Racial differences are not such as to place any barrier to the universal adaptation of the Gospel. Nor is the missionary motive at all weakened by the fruits of the modern science of Comparative Religion. He points out the gain to Christian theology likely to result from the success of the Gospel among the non-Christian nations. "Who can say but that the Hindoo and the Chinaman are to be God's instruments to deliver us from the evil accretions of a merely European orthodoxy,

and to reveal Christ in simpler, truer, and diviner proportions?" (p. 398).

The last Essay on Church and State is by Mr T. Raleigh, and while the shortest, it is certainly not the least important one of the series. As a contribution to the Disestablishment controversy, specially in its application to the English Church, it clears the air of many false issues. With admirable good feeling and with a striking command of historical knowledge, he demonstrates the unreasonableness of many of the statements made on either side. Tracing the growth of the union of State and Church, he shows the gradual separation between the two forces that has in modern times been taking place, till now the Church Established is in every respect on the same footing as the Church Disestablished, except in the two respects—first, that it is supported by national funds; and, second, that it has less freedom than the other has. Its endowment is simply a relic of the time when only one Church claiming to represent the Church was tolerated. Mr Raleigh looks beyond disestablishment to the ultimate union of Church and State, which is an "ideal set before us in the Bible, and cherished by every Christian politician" (p. 430).

In a sense, then, this volume may be regarded as registering the high-water mark of religious thought among the Nonconformists of the present day. It suggests comparison with "*Lux Mundi*," whose writers have the same object in view. The scope of the latter work, however, is wider, for it seeks to relate the intellectual movement of the present day generally to the Catholic faith, while this treats almost exclusively of the questions that are raised by the progress of Biblical Science. The discussion of the themes by the Anglican writers is also more elaborate, and there is no paper here that can be said to rival that of Aubrey Moore in point of learning and insight. While in many things there is a striking and most gratifying agreement as to results between the writers of the two works, "*Lux Mundi*," as was to be expected, is more conservative in its theology. Such papers as those of Mr Forsyth and Mr Stead must appear very revolutionary to Anglicans like Mr Gore or Mr Illingworth. I am not sure, however, but that on the whole this volume may prove the more useful of the two, as more practical in its treatment, and more modern in its thought. Both volumes proceed on the truth of the Incarnation, and are agreed as to the central position of that truth in the Christian creed. It is all the more remarkable that in neither have we a discussion of the Incarnation itself in the light of modern theology.

D. SOMERVILLE.

Inspiration and other Lectures.

*By T. G. Rooke, B.A., late President of Rawdon College, Leeds.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. xii. and 261. Price 7s. 6d.*

THESE lectures are published as a memorial of their late author, who was head of a Baptist College near Leeds. They are on such varied subjects as Psychology, the Authority of Scripture, and Pastoral Theology. Necessarily the treatment is not exhaustive, the philosophical section especially containing hints and suggestions rather than full discussions. In spite of this, however, the lectures reveal their author as a man of great shrewdness, common-sense, and liberal culture, as well as of real and unobtrusive piety. The book possesses a value much greater than that which attaches to most "memorial" volumes. The section on Inspiration, in particular, is fresh and suggestive. Mr Rooke claims for the Bible only an infallibility in spiritual matters,—that "this book alone . . . gives safe guidance to souls that seek after God." For the most part the Bible "difficulties" are dealt with in a sensible fashion. Mr Rooke perceives and clearly explains that the true key to most of such "difficulties" is to be found in the historical character of Revelation and its necessary development with the growing capacities of the race. As Professor Robertson Smith somewhere says, Revelation needed to be incorporated with the needs and thoughts of men in order that it might become a *religion*. Two points may be noted in the author's own constructive discussion. One is the clear distinction he seeks to make between Revelation and Inspiration. Inspiration is the divine preparation of human consciousness for the reception of divine truth; Revelation is the presentation of such truth; and, as a resultant of these, we have "spiritual knowledge or the possession by the human consciousness of certain thoughts of God." Holy Scripture is just "the organised aggregate of all the knowledge which God's Providence has ordained should thus be perpetuated as the authoritative guide of man in spiritual matters." The other point is the method which the author adopts to distinguish the Biblical from the extra-Biblical Inspiration. He finds a solution of this problem in the fact (derived from his psychology) that we consciously exist in "an ascending range of spheres"—the Natural, the Rational, and the Spiritual. There are different kinds of inspiration, "according to the sphere in which consciousness is active." Aholiab, *e.g.*, and the ploughman of Isa. 28 were inspired in the lowest sphere of consciousness, Newton and Beethoven in the higher. In the highest sphere—the spiritual—Inspiration is of a distinct kind; it has to do with the reception of "divine truth." Even here, indeed, there are distinctions. The

"Inspiration of the Divine Life" (in Macleod Campbell's phrase), *i.e.*, of ordinary believers in their religious life, is not the "Inspiration of Revelation" to which we owe the Bible. In the latter case the minds and hearts of the writers were "prepared for knowledge and emotions which were quite new in the history of the world," and this fact marks a real difference between the inspiration of Biblical writers and that influence which is experienced by all Christians. One may decline some of Mr Rooke's arguments, while being at the same time sensible of the helpful and reverent way in which the whole subject is handled.

Naturally we see more of the man himself in the pastoral advices of the concluding section of the book—a strong, clear-headed, tender-hearted man he seems to have been. A high ideal of the pastor's work and life pervades these chapters, and even a young minister might learn much from the hints and counsels so lovingly and liberally bestowed.

FREDERICK J. RAE.

The Story of Religion in England.

By Brooke Herford, D.D. Fifth Edition. London: Sunday School Association. Pp. 391. Price 2s. 6d.

THE fact that a fifth edition of this fascinating book has been called for renders the duty of praising it almost superfluous. Its merits amply account for its success. Dr Herford's task—to tell the "story" of the growth of religious life and thought in England from the earliest times—was a peculiarly difficult one. There was the danger of over-crowding on the one hand, and that of oversimplicity on the other. The author has avoided both. He shows admirable self-denial in the treatment of his materials, and his narrative is written in a style as clear and direct as it is simple and graceful. Beginning in the far-off past with the Druids, the story streams on through the successive conquests, over the Normans and their church-building, the monks and their preaching, and so onwards across old Catholic England. Then we watch "the beginnings of new and nobler thoughts about religious things . . . the struggles of great reformers, the seething and strife and confusion of the Reformation." Finally we follow "the different currents of religious tendency, into which that Reformation set the mind and heart of our English people flowing . . . no one of them the mighty River of Life, but all of them parts of it." The narrative often pauses to give us glimpses into the life of the people, or graphic sketches of the leading figures in the history, or valuable information as to the origin of place-names, national customs, feasts, and so forth. These

are not the least interesting features of a book which is as engrossing as a romance, and which is notable not only for its breadth of view, but equally for the sympathy with which each movement of religious life is delineated. One cannot read a "story" like this without being deeply impressed with the part which religion has had in the making of England, and the destiny which she is called to fulfil. The author (whose account of the rise and progress of freedom of thought is one of the best things in his work) holds that we have still one stage to reach in our religious evolution. First we gained religious toleration; then religious liberty; we have still to win religious equality. However that may be, we may learn from the story of the past how baseless are the complaints which we so often hear made of the divisions of the Christian Church. It has been through division and opposition that we have won our heritage. The divine method everywhere is progress by conflict. Each separate sect or church has originated in a genuine conviction and has its truth to work out. We shall never see on the earth a universal church of uniform creed and government. We *may* become "of one heart and one soul" here, but we shall not "see eye to eye" until "the Lord bringeth again Zion." Thomas Binney's remark (quoted by Dr Herford) is worth repeating here: "He did not look to see all the walls between the churches done away, but he did want them to be lowered so that all good men might shake hands over them."

FREDERICK J. RAE.

Notices.

IN his *Book of Enoch*¹ Mr Charles gives us a work which is true to the best traditions of English scholarship—careful, learned, critical in the best sense, and not over burdened with matter of a merely curious interest. The attention now directed to the class of literature to which this writing belongs, the new discoveries made in connection with the text of *Enoch*, and the recognised importance of its contents in relation to the interpretation of the New Testament, also make this new edition a most opportune publication. Dillmann's contributions to our knowledge of this ancient pseudepigraph are invaluable, and they are fully recognised by Mr Charles. But the latter has new and important material to work upon. His translation is based mainly on the text of an unpublished British Museum MS., which is greatly

¹ The Book of Enoch. Translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, M.A., Oxford. Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xiii. 383. Price 16s.

superior to Dillmann's Ethiopic text. Use is also made of M. Bouriant's Greek Gizeh MS., and of the Latin fragment found by Mr James in the British Museum. Mr Charles accepts the chief results of former criticism,—that the original was written in Hebrew, that it was translated into Greek, and that the Ethiopic version was made from the Greek; that the book is in all probability of Palestinian origin; that it is a composite writing, consisting (apart from the closing chapter) of (a) the ground-work, i.-xxxvi.; lxxii.-civ.; (b) the Similitudes, xxxvii.-lxx.; (c) a series of interpolations, most of which are taken from a lost Apocalypse of Noah. The question of the authorships and dates of the different sections of the book is examined with great care. The results reached are these—that the section consisting of chs. i.-xxxvi. belongs at latest to 170 B.C.; that chs. lxxxiii.-xc. are by another hand, writing between 166 and 161 B.C., not from the prophetic standpoint of the last chapters of Isaiah, but mainly from that of Daniel; that chs. xci.-civ. come from a writer living towards the close of the second century B.C.; that the Similitudes belong to between 94-79 B.C., or 70-64 B.C.; that the date of the Book of Celestial Physics (lxxii.-lxxviii.; lxxii.; lxxix.) is indeterminate; and that the Noachian and other interpolations are for the most part additions made by the editor, but at what time we know not. The most doubtful thing in these discussions is the importance attached to the presence or absence of Zoroastrian ideas. The writer of the third section, *e.g.*, is supposed to be a Pharisee, but one affected by Zoroastrian thought. An important chapter deals with the influence of the Book of Enoch on Jewish and Patristic literature and on the New Testament. This is an excellent piece of work. The only remark which we make upon it is that the list of passages, especially from the New Testament, seems somewhat extended. Mr Charles has reason for claiming that "the influence of Enoch on the New Testament has been greater than that of all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books taken together." But it is questionable whether such New Testament phrases as "walk in the light," "we shall be like Him," "holy angels," "justified in the name of the Lord Jesus," "this present evil world," "children of light," and some others, have the direct relation to Enoch which is assigned them in this argument. The essay on the origin and meaning of the title "Son of Man" is of much interest. The various explanations which have been current are examined briefly, but acutely, and set aside as inadequate. Mr Charles's own conclusion is that our Lord adopted the title "Son of Man" from the Book of Enoch with all the supernatural attributes given it there, but transformed it at the same time by introducing into it Isaiah's conception of the Servant of Jehovah. The synthesis of these two conceptions, he thinks, alone

will explain the contrasted ideas which are suggested by the title in its New Testament occurrences. The explanation is an ingenious one, and has at least on one side some sound historical basis. We are not sure, however, whether after all it is much superior to that which satisfied Neander, Schleiermacher, and many more, and which interprets the title as expressing the two ideas of Christ's conscious oneness with mankind and His distinction from mankind. Mr Charles objects to this that the conception of an ideal Man is a philosophical conception, which was foreign to the thought of Palestinian Judaism then. But Mr Charles's own explanation comes back to this "ideal" view in another form. For he understands the title to include "two ideals of the past in an ideal, nay, in a personality, transcending them both." The notes on difficult passages of the text, especially those on doctrinal terms and on words like *Sheol*, are of great value. The book as a whole is a weighty and welcome addition to our theological literature.

The volume on *Dogmengeschichte*,¹ contributed by Professor Harnack of Berlin to the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*, is already in its second edition. It is in the main an abstract of the *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*. It is welcome, not only because it presents in brief form the investigations which are worked out at length in the larger book, but also because it succeeds so well in showing us the inner side of the process of the development of the Church's doctrine. The subject is dealt with (after certain *Prolegomena*) in two great divisions, one treating of the Rise of Dogma; the other, of the Development of Dogma. The first of these divisions embraces two books, entitled respectively the *Vorbereitung* and the *Grundlegung*. The second embraces three books, of which one handles specially the dogmatic movement in the Eastern Church, and another that in the Western Church, while the third states the threefold issue in Roman Catholicism, Antitritarianism and Socinianism, and Protestantism. The plan, therefore, is simple and intelligible, and the discussions are equally lucid and easy to follow. Almost at a glance we can thus understand Professor Harnack's interpretations of the course which has been run by the Church's doctrine, and see in their due relations his most characteristic positions. He adheres to his contention that dogma is the product of the Greek spirit working on the Evangelical foundation; that its history ends, properly speaking, with the Reformation of the sixteenth century; that the Catholic Church rose on the three foundations of the idea of a "rule of faith," the separation of a certain number of books as canonical, and the elevation of the bishops into successors

¹ Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xii. 388. Price, M. 6.

of the Apostles; and that the result of this ecclesiastical change, taken in connection with the Hellenizing of Christian thought, was the displacement of the early Christian faith by a great speculative theology in the Eastern Church of the third century. He abides also by his view of Marcion, which makes that yet but half understood heretic the first to measure Christianity by the testimony of a few canonical books. His estimates of the great figures in the history of theology,—Augustine, Luther, and others,—have all the force and breadth and generosity which are so conspicuous in the larger book. The entire presentation of the dogmatic process, as given anew in this comparatively small and eminently readable volume, demands the careful attention of the student, and, however questionable in some of its details, is certain materially to affect opinion on the subject.

The late Canon Liddon's *Explanatory Analysis of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*¹ is a remarkable witness to the immense pains taken by the great preacher in preparing himself for the discharge of any duty. The book originated in a course of lectures delivered in 1875-76, its first form being a series of papers drawn up for the guidance of students attending these lectures. It reveals the late Canon in the character of a well-equipped exegete, grappling with the difficulties of the greatest of Paul's epistles, and following out its course of thought in the spirit, and with the sympathy, of the genuine scholar. The strength of the book lies in the application to its problems of that forceful, reasoning, argumentative faculty which also marked his sermons. But there are few points of any difficulty, grammatical or other, which are not handled in a way to indicate that the author was scarcely less at home in the expositor's work than in the preacher's. His remarks on questions of doctrine, which are suggested by this Epistle, are usually as informing as they are terse and pointed. A good instance is found in what he says on the moral objections which are supposed to lie against the doctrine of the transmission of original sin (p. 104).

The *Expositor*² completes the seventh volume of its Fourth Series. This is testimony sufficient to its sustained usefulness. The present volume contains important studies by Dr A. B. Bruce on *Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Dr V. H. Stanton on *Some Points in the Synoptic Problem*, and Mr W. C. Allen on Professor Marshall's theory of the *Aramaic Gospel*. Among many other papers of interest are those by Professor G. A. Smith on Galilee

¹ London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. vi. 309. Price 14s.

² Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

and its Lake, Dr Stalker on some Difficult Words of Christ, Dr A. B. Davidson on the *Earlier Ideas of Isaiah*, Dean Chadwick on certain of the Gospel Miracles, and Professor Ramsay on the phrase "About the Sixth Hour." And these are only a few out of many.

The fourth volume of the *Expository Times*¹ shows no diminution in the vigour with which this useful magazine has been conducted from the first. The editor's paragraphs are always pointed and seasonable, and many of the larger papers are of permanent value. The articles in this volume are written by a large variety of men, and cover a wide extent of subject, from simple notes on passages of Scripture to elaborate and learned discussions by bishops, canons, and professors. The result is a great wealth and diversity of good and profitable matter.

The literature on the *Gospel of Peter* increases at a great pace. The most recent addition to it which has reached us is a translation of one of Dr Schubert's publications.² The book gives the *Opinions of the Ancient Church, Synoptical Tables, Critical Apparatus*, and a Translation. The original is meant as a supplement to Dr Schubert's larger work, *Die Composition des Pseudopetrinischen Evangelien-Fragments*. The English translation is carefully done. The materials provided in this small volume will be of distinct use to the student who wishes to master the question and come to a judgment of his own.

The Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge makes an important contribution to the same subject.³ The text of the Petrine fragment is accompanied by admirable Notes which give light on many passages. A Translation is also furnished, and an Introduction of forty-seven pages deals in an interesting and instructive way with a variety of matters connected with the find. The relation of the fragment to the Canonical Gospels, its doctrinal tendencies, its literary character, the place and date of its composition, are discussed in a very satisfactory way. A summary of the literature of the subject is given; a comparison is made with other writings of the same class; statements are furnished on various questions of interest; and the whole is enriched by a couple of facsimile pages.

¹ Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.

² The Gospel of St Peter. With Synoptical Tables and Critical Apparatus. Edited by H. von Schubert, D.D. Authorised English Translation, by Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 31. Price 1s. 6d. net.

³ The Akhmîm Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St Peter. Edited, with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by H. B. Swete, D.D. London: Macmillan. 8vo, pp. vi. 34. Price 5s. net.

Dr Swete finds no verbal quotation from the Old Testament, but tabulates some dozen more or less distinct allusions to it. As regards the place of origin, he agrees with others in thinking that all the evidence points to Western Syria; and as to the date, he holds that what exists of this Gospel indicates that it was not written before the middle of the second century. The book is most scholarly, most useful, and worthy of the scholarship of Cambridge.

Mrs Russell Gurney's *Dante's Pilgrim's Progress*¹ will have a place of its own among the numerous additions made in recent years to the Dante literature. Its external form is pleasing in the highest degree, and its contents are of great interest. Its plan is to give on one page select passages from the Italian, and on the opposite page the interpretation and remarks. It is not a detailed study of the great epic as a whole. It is a study of Dante himself, the poet being taken as the *pilgrim* of his poem, and his visions of the three great habitations of souls in the hereafter being treated as witnesses to a "deeper and more universal vision" which led him into the "arena of the human heart." It is all gracefully and attractively written, and has the ring of sympathy and spirituality.

Mr Arthur Lillie,² with a courage worthy of a better cause, attempts the impossible task of proving that much of the New Testament is parable rather than history, and parable derived from another religion, that, namely, of Buddha. His contention is that in the New Testament writings there are really two distinct Christs, an Essene Christ and an anti-Essene Christ; that the real Christ was an Essene monk; that Christianity was Essenism; and that, Essenism being due to Buddhist missionaries who visited Egypt, Christianity is a system of religion essentially influenced by Buddhism. What manner of historical sense or critical faculty Mr Lillie possesses, as indicated by this large programme, is left for the reader to judge.

In his *Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels*³ Mr W. E. Barnes, Theological Lecturer at Clare College, Cambridge, gives a brief but forcible re-statement of the main lines of proof in the Apologetics of the Gospels. He makes good use of the evidence gathered from sources recently opened, especially from Tatian and Hermas. He furnishes a very careful summary of the facts which dispose of the contention that "the four Gospels (with the exception of St Luke) are not to be traced during the hundred and fifty years which immediately followed our Lord's death." He adds to the interest of his very useful book by furnishing a list of the *Uncanonical Sayings of our*

¹ By Emilia Russell Gurney. London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. 421. Price 7s. 6d.

² The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity. By Arthur Lillie. London: Swan Sonnenschied. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 184. Price 2s. 6d.

³ London: Longmans. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxi. 112. Price 3s. 6d.

Lord, and a translation of the fragment of the *Gospel according to Peter*.

The qualities which distinguished Dr Blaikie's former contributions to the *Expositor's Bible*¹ appear in the *Book of Joshua*, his most recent addition to that series. He makes his stand against all interpretations of the history of Israel which would eliminate the supernatural from it, or deny in it the presence of a real revelation of God. On this he writes with vigour and with just warmth. With regard to the critical treatment of the book, his attitude remains decidedly conservative, only that he sees no difficulty in admitting the operation of the hand of a reviser or revisers. He gives his strength to the presentation of the narrative itself, and the lessons suggested by it. These are clearly and forcibly given, and the volume, as a whole, shows the author's style at its best. The chapters on *Achan's Sin*, the *Battle of Beth-horon*, the *Battle of Merom*, *Joshua's Old Age*, *Joshua's Last Appeal*, are of special interest.

For the purposes of the *Expositor's Bible*, the *Psalms*² could have been committed to no better hand than that of Dr Maclaren of Manchester. Larger examination of his work must be postponed till it is complete, as we trust it soon may be. For this first volume takes us over only the first thirty-eight Psalms. But it satisfies the high expectations which one justly forms of Dr Maclaren's efforts. It does not concern itself with debated questions of scholarship, but it takes us into the spirit of these breathings, aspirations, and forecasts of ancient saints, interprets for us their converse with God, and in their experience shows us the mirror of our own. Even on the most familiar Psalms, the twenty-third among the rest, Dr Maclaren has something fresh, as well as profitable, to say, some new depths of experience to open, some new beauties to discover to us. It is a refreshment to read the book.

Considering the impression produced by them, and their remarkable opportuneness when delivered in 1799, it has been matter of surprise that Schleiermacher's *Reden über die Religion*³ have remained so long untranslated. Various things, however, have conspired of late to direct attention to them anew, and at last they have found a competent translator. Much that is in them must seem strange to English readers of this year of grace 1893. Things have so altered within the century. But the book has

¹ London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 416. Price 7s. 6d.

² The Psalms. By A. Maclaren, D.D. Vol. I.: Psalms i.-xxxviii. London: Hodder & Stoughton. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. 385. Price 7s. 6d.

³ On Religion. Speeches to its Cultured Despisers. By Friedrich Schleiermacher. Translated, with an Introduction, by John Oman, B.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. 8vo, pp. lviii. 287. Price 7s. 6d.

taken rank as a classic in the religious literature of Germany, and it deserves to be better known among ourselves.

The fact that this year is the hundredth anniversary of John Keble's birth makes the preparation of a new memoir of him opportune and welcome. Mr Lock's biography¹ has already won extensive regard, having in a short space of time run into edition after edition, and deservedly so. For, while it is far from claiming anything like completeness (there being still much to be gathered from correspondence and documents to which access has not yet been had), it makes excellent use of the various publications of recent date which have dealt with the Oxford Movement, and it is written in admirable taste and style. It would be difficult to produce anything better than the bright sketches here given of Keble's early life at home and in the University, and of his peaceful career in the quiet parish of Hursley. The pictures of the poet, the preacher, and the spiritual adviser are equally well drawn. Nor are the critical sections of the book, those dealing with Keble's theory of poetry, with the *Christian Year*, and with the *Lyra Innocentium*, less satisfactory. Nothing is strained, but justice is done at once to his poetical faculty and to his theology. One can gather, too, from the whole presentation of the man, and from the closing words on his characteristics, what his influence must have been, and how far from exaggerated is the place usually assigned him in the great movement which was named not after him, but after Pusey. Those who know Keble and admire him will have their veneration for his spiritual character and their admiration of his devout poetry deepened by this sympathetic volume.

Dr James Macgregor of Oamaru, New Zealand, issues another section of his projected Apologetic Series. In *The Apology of the Christian Religion* he undertook a commentary on the external evidences. In the present work, *The Revelation and the Record*,² he deals with the logical foundation. In a third volume, which is to appear under the title of *Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics*, he is to furnish corroborative illustration. It would be premature to venture at present on any judgment of his apologetical system as a whole. That will be in place only when the work is completed. Something may be said, however, of the present instalment. It is defined in the sub-title as a series of *Essays on Matters of Previous Question in the Proof of Christianity*. It is occupied with two main subjects—Supernaturalism and the New Testament Canon. With respect to the former, the argument is directed to show that

¹ John Keble. A Biography. By Walter Lock, M.A. Fourth Edition. London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. 245. Price 5s.

² Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. xii. 265. Price 7s. 6d.

the supernatural is involved in the system of things, implied in the external evidence of Christianity and the Bible, and operative in the inspiration of Scripture. Under the latter topic, the proof of the New Testament Canon is exhibited, in the case of the New Testament Scriptures generally, in that of the Gospels in especial, and most particularly in that of Mark. The strongest sections of the work are those in which the author's logical faculty finds scope. Many pages remind us of the vigorous dialectics of the seventeenth century divines. The book, indeed, is written in the main from the standpoint of the great dogmatic theologians of that period. We have the author at his best when he grapples with the various evasions of the supernatural, with recent samples of materialism, with the logical inconsistencies of the sceptical schools, with the imbecilities of the theory of forgery as applied to the New Testament writings. On all such matters there is abundance of trenchant writing. The book is most open to criticism in its argument on the inspiration of Scripture, and at certain points of its elaborate discussion of the Canon. The inspiration of Scripture is dealt with less from the side of the actual phenomena presented by the books, than from that of the results logically deducible from a particular view of what inspiration presumably involves. The statement on the Canon, again, is constructed without any reference to the positions of Harnack and other recent writers. On both these subjects, therefore, the book commits itself to doubtful positions, and there is an inclination to dismiss opposing opinions too easily. In face of the vast influence which Baur has exercised over the methods of more schools than his own, notwithstanding the general rejection or modification of many of his critical verdicts, it is not enough to say of the Tübingen School simply that it "went up like a rocket and came down like a stick." For all that, the book gives us the thoughts of a strong theologian, who has studied many questions deeply, and is able to hold his own with most opponents. His statement on the "light of nature" and the foundations of natural theology, and the Appendix on *The Previous Question of Science regarding Evolution*, will be generally valued.

Under the apt title of *Apocrypha Anecdota*¹ Mr Montague Rhodes James brings together no less than thirteen new apocryphal writings, the result of researches in the libraries of Oxford, London, Cheltenham, Paris, and Trèves. These documents, though all of interest in the strange and various history of religious beliefs, are of very different degrees of value. They include the *Visio Pauli* in

¹ Texts and Studies. Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 8vo, pp. xi. 202. Price 6s. net.

Latin, the *Acta Xanthippae et Polyxenae*, the *Narratio Zosimi*, the *Apocalypsis Mariae Virginis*, the *Apocalypsis Sedrach*, and eight Fragments. The interest of the *Apocalypse of Paul* lies specially in the fact that in it, "after an interval of a century, the apocalyptic branch of literature re-appeared, to be continued without any considerable break down to the time of Dante." In the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena* Mr James sees an illustration of the "Sunday Story" of the early Christians, and in the *Story of Zosimus* an "important contribution to the mythology of the Lost Tribes and the Earthly Paradise." The Fragments include the portion of the *Book of Enoch* in Latin already referred to; a *Description of Anti-Christ* which Mr James imagines may be a bit of the Apocalypse of Peter or else may come from a "hitherto unimagined Latin version of the *Testament of the Lord*"; parts of the *Apocalypse of Adam* and the *Translation of Philip*; and four Latin pieces found in a Cheltenham MS., one of which, in the opinion of Mr James, forms part of the *Assumption of Moses*—a most interesting conclusion. The book is one for the specialist in Apocryphal, and especially Apocalyptic, literature. The critical discussions are excellent examples of what such discussions ought to be. The whole makes a worthy addition to the scholarly series to which it belongs.

The Norrisian Professor of Divinity has supplied a long felt want by his edition of the *Philocalia* of Origen.¹ This collection of extracts from Origen, made by Gregory and Basil, and usually inserted among his works, has always been valued for what it has preserved for us in the original text, especially as regards a large part of the *Contra Celsum*. But Professor Robinson rightly claims for it the additional merit of presenting in a somewhat systematic form much of the great Alexandrian's best thought—and so serving as "an excellent introduction to the study of Origen." The edition is admirably printed and most carefully prepared. Upwards of fifty manuscripts have been used for the text, the three best having been fully collated. The sources of the *Philocalia* are tabulated, and important chapters are devoted to the Translations by Rufinus, and the Eusebian and Clementine Extracts. Professor Robinson, in short, has given us an edition which furnishes all that the scholar requires, and which is likely to remain long at once the handiest and the most authoritative edition.

In his *Hebrew Idolatry and Superstition*, Mr Elford Higgens² collects a number of facts illustrative of the place of folklore

¹ The *Philocalia* of Origen. The Text revised with a Critical Introduction and Indices, by J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge University Press. Cr. 8vo, pp. lii. 278. Price 7s. 6d. net.

² London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 80.

among the ancient Hebrews. He regards the Hebrew religion as one of great morality, from the principle of which the people fell away when they adopted the standard of belief and custom which prevailed among the former inhabitants of the land. He deals specially with the various practices of divination, with magical formulæ, and with witchcraft. Divination by cup, arrows, and rod he takes to be probably of Turanian origin. Magical formulæ are held to be of Chaldean or Accadian derivation. Witchcraft, as found in the Holy Land, is explained to be due to the mythic influence of the former inhabitants, Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, &c. His general conclusion is that more consideration should be given to the influence of the aboriginal races upon the Hebrews.

Principal Moule contributes another devout and scholarly volume, that on *Colossians and Philemon*, to the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*.¹ The exegesis has all the good qualities of the author's former commentaries in the same series, those on *Romans* and *Ephesians*. The Introduction contains interesting chapters on *Colossae and its neighbouring Churches*, on *Alien teaching at Colossae*, and similar matters, as well as the usual questions of date, authenticity, etc. As to the Epistle from St Paul which the Colossians were to get from Laodicea, Mr Moule's opinion is, on the whole, in favour of its being the Ephesian Epistle, although he sees the difficulties of the case. The notes on doctrinal passages are always satisfactory, Mr Moule being in perfect sympathy with Paul's teaching, and able to enter thoroughly into it. The volume, while admirably concise in its comments, leaves nothing of any real difficulty unexplained.

Students have often felt the need of a handy dictionary to New Testament Greek. Mr Hickie² now gives us one, certainly as small as well can be, but up to date, such as many will be glad to have near them, and useful for class work.

The Vicar of Sandgate publishes a small volume of Addresses on *Life and Religion*,³ plain and unaffected in style and practical in their object.

A new and cheaper edition is issued of the Rev. David Wright's *Thoughts upon Some Words of Christ*⁴—suggestive discourses on a number of passages of less obvious interpretation.

Mr Thos. F. Lockyer's *The Gospel of John*⁵ (*Books for Bible*

¹ Cambridge University Press. Fcap. 8vo, pp. 195. Price 2s.

² Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament, after the latest and best authorities. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 213. Price 3s.

³ By Rev. H. Russell Wakefield. London: Elliot Stock. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 96.

⁴ London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo, pp. 156.

⁵ London: Charles H. Kelly. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 326. Price 2s. 6d.

Students) is an exposition in the form of a series of chapters, giving a broad and popular summary of the contents of the Fourth Gospel. Some critical notes are appended. It is easy to read, and goes over the narrative and discourses in an edifying, homiletical way.

A larger volume, under the title of *Bible Studies*,¹ reproduces from stenographic notes a series of *Sunday Evening Sermons on the Early Books of the Old Testament*, delivered by the late Henry Ward Beecher in 1878-79. It gives some excellent specimens of the ordinary pulpit work of the great American preacher. The discourses on the *Mosaic Institutes*, and those on *Gideon*, *Jephthah*, *Samson*, *Naomi*, and *Ruth* contain many good things.

The Queen's Printers, whose *Variorum Bible* has won such wide and well-deserved acceptance, have issued an enlarged and improved edition of their *Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible*.² This is intended to complete the "Large Type Variorum Teachers' Bible." These *Aids*, being carefully revised, considerably extended, and brought thoroughly up to date, are most useful and reliable. The new matter includes articles by Dr C. H. H. Wright on the *Apocrypha*, Canon Girdlestone on *Hebrew Poetry*, the Editor on *Bible History* (an Epitome, giving also the main links with General History), Mr St Chad Boscawen on *The Testimony of the Monuments to the Old Testament History*, and Professor Swete on *The Bible: its History*. The last two papers are particularly valuable.

The last numbers of the *Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses* which have reached us (1^{er} Juillet, 1^{er} Septembre 1893) contain a very careful study by H. Cordey of a subject now engaging the public mind with more than ordinary interest—*La foi à la préexistence de Jesus-Christ et son importance pour la piété Chrétienne*. Other papers of importance are those by A. Wabnitz on the *Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter*, C. Bruston on certain obscure passages in the *Gospel of Peter*, and E. Bernard on *Pessimism and Christianity*. Some notes on John v. 20, 30, and a variety of notices of books, make up two excellent numbers. The third *Hefte* of the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* for the current year is occupied mainly with an elaborate paper by Pfarrer Heinrich Grunsky on *Die Autorität der heiligen Schrift*, which will repay being studied alongside Professor Wendt's pamphlet, noticed in our July number. The third and fourth parts of the same Journal contain, among other valuable papers, one of some interest on Schleiermacher's doctrinal position by P. Kölbinger (*Schleiermacher's Zeugnis vom Sohne Gottes nach seinen Festpredigten*), and another

¹ London: R. D. Dickinson. 8vo, pp. 438. Price 6s. 6d.

² London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. Pp. xi. 202 (with Appendix of Index, Concordance, and Maps). Price 5s.

by Otto Ritschl on the *Historical Christ, the Christian Faith, and Theological Science*—an elaborate and weighty discussion. The *English Historical Review* for July gives an important article by Mr Henry Charles Lea on the *Taxes of the Papal Penitentiary*, which makes admirable use of the results of recent researches in the history of the Roman chancery and penitentiary, and the practice of money payments in expiation of sin. The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* maintains the eminent position it has held from the beginning in its ample and painstaking survey of current literature. More than fifty pages are given to book notices in the July number. These include an examination by Professor Warfield of recent German publications (by Rohnert, Bolliger, Koelling, Dieckhoff, Kawerau, and Gess) on the burning question of *Inspiration*. In addition we have a variety of articles, among which may be specially noticed the paper by Professor Shields on *The Trial of Servetus*, and the extremely interesting account given by Professor Gretillat of *Theological Thought among French Protestants in 1892*.

Record of Select Literature.

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- MEIGNAN, Cardinal. *Les Prophètes d'Israël et le Messie depuis Salomon jusqu'à Daniel.* Paris: Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. vii. 607. Fr. 7.50.
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- BILLEB, H. *Die wichtigsten Sätze der neueren Alttestamentlichen Kritik, vom Standpunkte der Propheten Amos u. Hosea aus betrachtet. Ein Beitrag zum Schriftverständniss.* Halle: Anton. 8vo, pp. vii. 136. M. 3.
- SMITH, R. P. *Daniel: An Exposition of the Historical Portion of the Writings of the Prophet Daniel.* Cin., O.: Cranston & Curts. 12mo, pp. iv. 335. \$1.
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- NETELER, B. *Stellung der Alttestamentlichen Zeitrechnung in der Altorientalischen Geschichte, 3. Untersuchg. der Zeiträume der 70 Jahrwochen.* Münster: Theissing. 8vo, pp. 19. M. 0.50.
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- ROTHSTEIN, J. W. *Das Hohe Lied. Ein Vortrag nebst e. m. Anmerkgn. verseh. Uebersetzg. des Hohen Liedes.* Halle: Mühlmann. 8vo, pp. iv. 61. M. 1.20.
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INDEX OF REVIEWS.

- ADDIS, W. E. The Documents of the Hexateuch, 295.
— Christianity and the Roman Empire, 326.
- ADENEY, Prof. Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, 320.
- AIDS TO THE STUDENT OF THE BIBLE, 438.
- AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, 104.
- BADHAM, F. P. The Formation of the Gospels, 231.
- BAENTSCH, BRUNO. Das Bundesbuch, 35.
- BAETHGEN, Professor. Die Psalmen übersetzt und erklärt, 20.
- BARNES, W. E. Canonical and Uncanonical Gospels, 432.
- BAYNE, Dr P. The Free Church of Scotland, 327.
- BEECHER, Dr H. W. Bible Studies, 438.
- BEET, Prof. Through Christ to God, 102.
- BEYSCHLAG, Prof. Neutestamentliche Theologie, 142.
- BIBLIA, 105.
- BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATOR, 213.
- BISSELL, Prof. E. C. A Practical Introductory Hebrew Grammar, 93.
- BLACK, J. S. The Book of Judges, 97.
- BLAIRIE, Prof. Book of Joshua, 433.
- BLAKE, Rev. B. How to Read Jeremiah, 211.
- BLOMFELD, Bishop. The Old Testament and the New Criticism, 276.
- BONAR, Rev. A. Memoirs and Remains of R. M. M'Cheyne, 99.
- BONAR, J., LL.D. Philosophy and Political Economy, 238.
- BOSANQUET, Dr BERNARD. A History of Æsthetic, 64.
- BOSE, PORCHER DU. The Soteriology of the New Testament, 38.
- BOYON, Prof. Théologie du Nouveau Testament, 379.
- BRIGGS, Prof. C. A. The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, 318.
- BRIGHT, W., D.D. Morality in Doctrine, 101.
— Dr J. W. Anglo-Saxon Reader, 323.
- BROWN, Rev. A. Scripture Baptism, 213.
- BRUCE, Prof. A. B. Apologetics, 3, 323.
- CAIRD, Principal. Evolution of Religion, 193.
- Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, The, 321.
- CANDLISH, J. S., D.D. The Biblical Doctrine of Sin, 214.
- CAPRON, H. F. The Antiquity of Man, 98.
- CARNEGIE, W. H. Through Conversion to God, 323.
- CARRIER, Prof. A. S. The Hebrew Verb, 94.
- CHARLES, R. H., M.A. The Book of Enoch, 427.
- CHEYNE, Prof. T. K. Founders of Old Testament Criticism, 317.
- CHURCH, Dean. Cathedral and University Sermons, 327.
- CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS. Quis Dives Salvatur, 325.
- CLIFFORD, J., D.D. Inspiration and the Authority of the Bible, 48.
- COGGIN, F. E. Man's Great Charter, 307.
- COOKE, Rev. G. A. The History and Song of Deborah, 141.
- CORNILL, Prof. Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 97.
- CRUTWELL, C. T., M.A. A Literary History of Early Christianity, 382.
- DADSON. Evolution and Religion, 352.
- DILLMANN, Dr. Genesis, 324.
— Hiob, 323.
- DOUMERGUE, Prof. L'Autorité en Matière de Foi, 325.
- DRIVER, Prof. S. R. Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament, 76.
- DRUMMOND, Prof. Epistle to the Galatians, 326.
- DUHM, Professor. Das Buch Jesaja, 12.
- EDGAR, M'CHEYNE, D.D. The Gospel of a Risen Saviour, 96.
- ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, 439.
- EXPOSITOR, The, 212, 430.
- EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE, The, 211, 320, 433.
- EXPOSITORY TIMES, The, 105, 431.
- FAIRBAIRN, Principal. Christ in Modern Theology, 327, 369.
- FAITH AND CRITICISM; Essays by Congregationalists, 418.
- FARRAR, Archdeacon. The Book of First Kings, 320.
- FRANK, Prof. Dogmatische Studien, 180.
- FREIMANN, Dr. J. Des Gregorius Abulfarag Scholien zum Buche Daniel, 140.
- GASQUET, F. A. The Book of Common Prayer, 325.
- GILBERT, J. Nature: The Supernatural and the Religion of Israel, 300.

- GODET, Prof. F. Introduction au Nouveau Testament, 391.
 GURNEY, Mrs. Dante's Pilgrim's Progress, 432.
 HAHN, Prof. G. L. Das Evangelium Lucas erklärt, 128.
 HAND - COMMENTAR ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT, 100, 323.
 HARNACK, Prof. Dogmengeschichte, 429.
 HARRISON, Rev. A. J. The Church in relation to Sceptics, 47.
 HATCH, Dr E. Griechenthum und Christenthum, 322.
 HEARD, Rev. J. B. Alexandrian and CARTHAGINIAN Theology Contrasted, 319.
 HEGLER, A. Geist und Schrift bei Sebastian Franck, 48.
Helps to the Study of the Bible, 321.
 HENDERSON, Dr A. Palestine, 323.
 HERFORD, Dr B. The Story of Religion in England, 426.
 HERRMANN, Dr. Verkehr des Christen mit Gott, 401.
 HERTLING, Dr G. Locke und die Schule von Cambridge, 245.
 HICKIE, Mr. Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament, 437.
 HIGGINS, M. E. Hebrew Idolatry and Superstition, 436.
 HIRSCH, C. Thomae Kempensis de Imitatione, 324.
 HOLBOROW, A. Evolution and Scripture, 46.
 HOLTZMANN, Dr. Evangelium, &c., des Johannes, 323.
 HOMILETIC REVIEW, THE, 105.
 HORTON, Rev. R. F. Revelation and the Bible, 48.
 HOWIE, Rev. R. The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland, 322.
 ILLINGWORTH, Rev. J. R. University and Cathedral Sermons, 213.
 INNES, A. TAYLOR. Church and State, 213.
 JAMES, Rev. M. R. The Testament of Abraham, 80.
 — Apocrypha* Anecdota, 435.
 JOLLEY, A. J. The Synoptic Problem for English Readers, 231.
 JOSEPH, Rev. M. The Ideal in Judaism, 326.
 KAMPHAUSEN, Prof. A. Das Buch Daniel und die Neuere Geschichtsforschung, 142.
 KATTENBUSCH, Prof. Lehrbuch der Vergleichenden Confessionskunde, 156.
 KAUTSCH, Prof. Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, 278.
 KING, Bishop. Practical Reflections on every verse of the Book of Genesis, 102.
 KIRKPATRICK, Prof. A. F. The Doctrine of the Prophets, 119.
 KLOSTERMANN, Dr A. Der Pentateuch, 390.
 KÖHLER, H. Von der Welt zum Himmelreich, 248.
 KRATZ, Dr H. Das Weltproblem, &c., 269.
 LEE, J. W., D.D. The Making of a Man, 94.
 LIDDON, Canon. Analysis of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 430.
 LIGHTFOOT, J. B., D.D. Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, 99.
 LILLIE, A. The Influence of Buddhism on Primitive Christianity, 432.
 LIPSIVS, Dr. Briefe an die Galater, Römer, Philipper, 100.
 LOCK, W., M.A. John Keble, 434.
 LOCKYER, T. F. The Gospel of St John, 437.
 LOTZ, Prof. Geschichte und Offenbarung im Alten Testament, 272.
 LUTHER'S Tischreden, 309.
 MASSIE, Prof. J. The King and the Kingdom : a Study of the Four Gospels, 305.
 MATHESON, G., D.D. The Distinctive Messages of the Old Religions, 215.
 MAYOR, Dr J. B. The Epistle of James, 210.
 MEYER, Prof. H. A. W. Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, 324.
 MOELLER, Prof. History of the Christian Church, 99, 262.
 MOMERIE, Dr. The Religion of the Future, 328.
 MONTEFIORE, C. G. The Origin and Growth of Religion, 240.
 MOULE, Prof. Colossians and Philemon, 437.
 MÜLLER, MAX. Theosophy or Psychological Religion, 255.
 M'CRIE, Rev. C. G. The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland Historically treated, 85.
 MACGREGOR. Revelation and the Record, 434.
 M'LACHLAN, D. B. Reformed Logic, 172.
 MACLAREN, Dr A. The Book of Psalms, 433.
 MACMILLAN, Dr H. The Mystery of Grace, 326.
 NESTLE, E. De Sancta Cruce, 325.
 NEWBOLT, Rev. W. C. E. Penitence and Peace, 101.
 NÖLDEKE, Prof. Sketches from Eastern History, 97.
 OLIPHANT, Mrs. Thomas Chalmers, 328.
 OLIVER, A., D.D. What and How to Preach, 90.
 ORR, Prof. J. The Christian View of God and the World, 297.
 OWEN, Rev. J. Some Australian Sermons, 307.
 PARKHURST, Dr C. H. Three Gates n Side, 207.

- PEYTON, Rev. W. W. *The Memorabilia of Jesus*, 29.
- PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW, THE, 104, 439.
- RAINY, Principal. *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 286.
- RAMSAY, Prof. *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 327, 356.
- RECORD OF SELECT LITERATURE, 105, 216, 329, 439.
- REICH, W. *Das Prophetische Schrifttum*, 416.
- REICHEL, Bishop. *Cathedral and University Sermons*, 213.
- RESCH, ALFRED. *Aussercanonische Paraleltexpte zu den Evangelien*, 69.
- REUSS, Prof. E. *Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert*, 55, 188.
- REVUE DE THÉOLOGIE ET DES QUESTIONS RELIGIEUSES, 105, 438.
- RIDDLES OF THE SPHYNX. *A Study in the Philosophy of Evolution*, 43.
- RITSCHL, OTTO. *Albrecht Ritschls Leben*, 312.
- ROBINSON, J. ARMITAGE. *The Gospel according to St Peter*, 101.
- *The Philocalia of Origen*, 436.
- ROBSON, J., D.D. *Hinduism and its Relation to Christianity*, 214.
- ROGERS, HENRY. *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible*, 213.
- ROLFES, Dr E. *Die Aristotelische Auffassung vom Verhältnisse Gottes zur Welt und zum Menschen*, 173.
- ROOKE, President. *Inspiration*, 425.
- RYLE, Prof. H. E. *The Early Narratives of Genesis*, 78.
- *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 184.
- SCHAFF, PHILIP, D.D. *The Swiss Reformation*, 165.
- SCHANZ, PAUL, D.D. *A Christian Apology*, 163.
- SCHLEIERMACHER. *On Religion*, 433.
- SCHOPENHAUER. *On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason*, 316.
- SCHRADER, E. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 130.
- SCHUBERT, Prof. *The Gospel of St Peter*, 431.
- SCHULTZ, Dr H. *Old Testament Theology*, 194.
- SCHWARTZE, Dr. *Untersuchungen ueber die aeußere Entwicklung der Afrikanischen Kirche*, 410.
- SCOTT, C. N. *The Foregleams of Christianity*, 323.
- SCOTT, Rev. D. C. *Dictionary of the Mang'anga Language*, 308.
- SERMON YEAR BOOK, THE, 212.
- SETH, Prof. *Hegelianism and Personality*, 170.
- SIEGFRIED, Prof. C. *The Book of Job*, 322.
- SINCLAIR, The Ven. Dr. *The Servant of Christ*, 209.
- SMITH, Prof. G. A. *The Preaching of the Old Testament to the Age*, 325.
- SPENCER, F. E. *Did Moses write the Pentateuch after all?* 186.
- STALKER, Dr. *The Four Men*, 208.
- STEVENS, Prof. G. B. *The Pauline Theology*, 125.
- STOKES, G. T., D.D. *The Acts of the Apostles*, 211.
- STRACK, Dr H. L. *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*, 182.
- SWETE, Prof. *The Akhmim Fragment of the Gospel of St Peter*, 431.
- TEXTE UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN, 301.
- TEXTS AND STUDIES, 80, 435.
- THAYER, Prof. *Books and their Use*, 206.
- THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT, 325.
- TRAUB, F. *Die Sittliche Weltordnung*, 177.
- TROELTSCH, E. *Vernunft und Offenbarung*, 179.
- TROUP, Rev. E. *Words to Young Christians*, 326.
- ULRICH, Dr. *System der Formalen und Realen Logik*, 172.
- WAKEFIELD, Rev. RUSSELL. *Life and Religion*, 437.
- WALKER, HUGH. *Three Centuries of Scottish Literature*, 191.
- WARD, WILFRID. *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival*, 343.
- WATSON, Rev. F. *The Book Genesis a True History*, 138.
- WEISS, Dr B. *Meyer's Kommentar neu bearbeitet*, 324.
- WENDT, Dr H. H. *The Teaching of Jesus*, 100.
- *Die Norm des echten Christenthums*, 328.
- WHYTE, A., D.D. *William Law, Character and Characteristics of*, 211.
- *Bunyan Characters*, 321.
- WILLINKS, A. *The World of the Unseen*, 326.
- WORMS, RENÉ. *La Morale de Spinoza*, 59.
- WORSLEY, H., M.A. *The Dawn of the English Reformation*, 99.
- WRIGHT, Rev. D. *Thoughts upon some Words of Christ*, 437.
- G. F., D.D. *Man and the Glacial Period*, 396.
- WYCLIF LITERATURE, 280.
- ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR THEOLOGIE UND KIRCHE, 103, 438.